Images of kingship in bishops' biographies and deeds in twelfth-century England and Germany

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30 September 2018

A thesis submitted to Aberystwyth University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Acknowledgements

Over the past four years of researching and writing this thesis, I have incurred a great many debts. The opportunity to acknowledge them here is, in itself, a particularly satisfying and happy reward for reaching the end of the road.

The AHRC South, West and Wales Doctoral Training Partnership not only provided three years of funding for this research, but also generously offered additional funds to attend a language course in Göttingen and a placement within the Historische Seminar at the Johannes Gutenberg Universität in Mainz. I am grateful to Ludger Körntgen, Birgit Kynast, Isabelle Chwalka, Eric Freund, and Felipe Ernesto for making that stay in Germany so enjoyable and productive. I have also benefited from additional grants from the German History Society, *Medium Ævum*, the Royal Historical Society, as well as the universities of Aberystwyth, Durham, and Oxford. This enabled me to present papers, based on the thesis, at conferences in Aberdeen, Aberystwyth, Cardiff, Durham, Exeter, Gregynog, Leeds, London, Madrid, Oxford, and St Andrews and I am grateful to the audience on each occasion for their questions and comments. Finally, the St Peter's College Foundation provided funding for a M.St in Medieval History, without which my doctoral studies would never have commenced.

This thesis is the result of much generous support, both within and beyond the academic community. In Aberystwyth, our Latin teacher, Robert Ireland, has proved an inexhaustible source of assistance for the medieval postgraduate community. We owe him an enormous debt and I am especially conscious of the time and effort with which he corrected, and improved upon, the translations in this study. I owe additional thanks to Kris Lovell for his technical expertise, at the eleventh hour, regarding the graphs that form the final appendices. The efforts of Rebecca Rock and Nicola Gower, on behalf of the History Department, were much appreciated too at a time when the working conditions were far from ideal. Further thanks are due to the library staff at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the National Library of Wales, and the Hugh Owen Library, Aberystwyth, the last of whom dealt with a seemingly endless list of interlibrary loan requests with regard to the German scholarship.

I wish to thank my examiners, Nicholas Vincent and Levi Roach, for their immensely helpful comments and suggestions and for engaging with the thesis in such detail and at such length. I owe them a further debt of gratitude for making the viva examination such an enjoyable occasion, the memory of which I shall cherish. Above all, I have benefited over the past four years, in Professor Sarah Hamilton and Professor Björn Weiler, from a supervisorial team whose expertise, patience, and good humour has been beyond compare. Professor Weiler is especially to be commended for his forbearance in response to a near constant stream of questions, requests, and stubborn objections which, by the final stages of the PhD, had transformed into something of a raging flood. I have indeed always been extremely fortunate in my teachers. My undergraduate supervisor, Daniel Gerrard, remains a source of wisdom, support, and advice, whose generosity and commitment to his students is unrivalled. In this respect, my academic supervisors share much in common with my secondary school teacher, Alan Kydd, who did so much to place me on this path and whose guidance and example I continue to cherish. From each of these mentors, I have benefited from *admonitio* that has invariably been combined with wit and pastoral care in a truly Ciceronian and Gregorian fashion.

I have been further sustained during the course of the PhD by the powerful sense of community afforded by the staff of the History Department, Aberystwyth (both past and present) and offer my thanks in this regard to Arddun Arwyn, Warren Dockter, Jessica Gibbs, Gerald Hughes, Peter Lambert, Matthew Philips, Alexander Sarantis, as well as my fellow postgraduate students. Beyond Aberystwyth, friendships made at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds have done much to boost my morale at difficult moments during the process and to provide timely reminders as to why our subject is so interesting. Among many others, Jacqueline Burek, Sally Sprong, and Charlie Crouch deserve particular mention, as do Emily Ward and Rich Daines (both of whom, I hope, will one day emerge from the conversational catacombs into which I inadvertently led them during that conference in Madrid). I am equally conscious of the example set, both in terms of research and academic citizenship, in particular by Stephen Church, Johanna Dale, Thomas Foerster, Lars Kjær, Alheydis Plassmann, Benjamin Pohl, Mark Philpott, Erik Nibelaus, Charlie Rozier, Sigbjörn Sønnesyn, and Fraser McNair (the last of whom provided crucial assistance with the Latin passages in the German *vitae*).

Beyond the discipline, I have always been lucky to enjoy the support of an ever-amusing and generous circle of friends. Though not all can be named here, the sustained efforts of Rob Bennett, Natasha Chetina, Peter O' Connor, Ben Conroy, Daniel Humphries, Amy Pether, Eleanor Pickering, Rob Sheeran, Yaroslav Walker, Amy Williams, and Oliver Winters are particularly appreciated. The final word, in this regard, must go to my fellow 'Muskahounds' - Nathan Greasley and Lewis Owen - who responded to their often-tyrannical flatmate and colleague with an unfailing sense of good humour and forbearance. We shall ride again.

The greatest support though has always come from my family. Leanne and Simon Hall, and their children Isla, Dylan, and Mabel, have provided incredibly welcome and amusing distractions from the world of twelfth-century episcopal biographies. Hayley Kemp continues to offer not only her idiosyncratic sense of humour, but the assurance that it will all probably work out in the end. The debt owed to my parents and grandparents is an immeasurable one. Both my mother and father have been unstinting in their support of my academic career, responding with seemingly limitless interest and generosity alongside the occasional and understandable bouts of bewilderment. My father, Les Kemp, has made heroic efforts over the last four years to follow my often rather tortuous lines of argument. I hope the following 400 pages provide some answer to his repeated questions regarding 'who was really top dog' in twelfth-century Christendom. My efforts have been founded, above all, on the support provided by my mother, Angela Kemp, whose children are acutely conscious of the many debts we owe for her exertions. This thesis, and much else besides, would never have been begun, let alone completed, without her constant dedication and care. Both my mother and father, in this regard, follow in the tradition set by my grandparents, whose own virtues provide a continuous source of inspiration. The model of patience, humility, wit, and generosity set forth by my grandfather, Bill Tucker, acts as a particular ideal for which to strive. His example acts both as a comfort amid a wider sense of loss, but more importantly functions as a spur to work harder and to be kinder. It is therefore to both my parents and grandparents that this thesis, like all my labours, is dedicated.

Abbreviations

CTB	*The Correspondence of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, ed. Anne Duggan, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2000).
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MTB	*Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. J. C. Robertson and J. B. Sheppard, 7 vols., RS 67 (London, 1875-1885).
PL	Patrologia Latina
RS	Rolls Series: Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevii Scriptores
SS	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum
SSrG sep. ed	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum separatim editi

Introduction

This thesis offers the first comparative study of kingship as depicted by episcopal *vitae* and *gesta,* a neglected source for the study of political thought in the High Middle Ages. By examining how these sources portrayed kings in twelfth-century England and Germany, this study also provides the first systematic and in-depth investigation of the portrayal of English and German kingship in what was the largest extant narrative genre from the two realms. This examination of over sixty sources, as well as their classical, biblical, and early medieval models, both identifies important contrasts between the political culture of the two realms and reassesses the extent to which, in the eyes of contemporaries, kingship underwent a fundamental transformation during the era of the Investiture Contest and the twelfth-century renaissance.

1. Comparing England and Germany

In 1928 Marc Bloch singled out high medieval Germany as a realm in particular need of comparison.[1] Ninety years on, his statement remains lamentably true. As Timothy Reuter noted, a greater attention to pan-European developments has not been accompanied by a revival in comparative methods.[2] Volumes which aim at comparison, but are formed from case studies of individual areas, can inadvertently exaggerate difference. At the same time, broader surveys can fail to do justice to the very real variations between different realms.[3]

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[1] Marc Bloch, 'A Contribution Towards a Comparative History of European Societies', in *Land and Work in Medieval Europe: Selected Papers by Marc Bloch*, trans. J. E. Anderson (New York, 1969), 44-81. In this context, especially valuable will be Johanna Dale, *Inauguration and Liturgical Kingship in the Long Twelfth Century* (York, forthcoming) and Emily Joan Ward, 'Child Kingship in England, Scotland, France, and Germany, c.1050 - c.1250', PhD, University of Cambridge, https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/274253 accessed 14/09/2018.

[2] Timothy Reuter, 'Modern Mentalities and Medieval Polities', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 3-18, at 6; See too, on the lack of comparison more generally, Nicholas Vincent, 'Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Kingship. An Essay in Anglo-French Misunderstanding', in *Les idées passent-elles la Manche?: savoirs, représentations, pratiques (France-Angleterre, Xe - XXe siècles)*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet and François-Joseph Ruggiu (Paris, 2007), 21-36; For pan-European surveys, see Richard Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953); Alan Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978); Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1997); Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350* (London, 1993). For England and Germany placed in their European context, see especially Michael Clanchy, *England and its Rulers, 1066 - 1272* (Oxford, 2001); Alfred Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056–1273*, trans. Helga Braun and Richard Mortimer (Oxford, 1988); Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1986); Hagen Keller, *Zwischen regionaler Begrenzung und universalem Horizont. Deutschland im Imperium der Salier und Staufer 1024 bis 1250* (Berlin, 1986).

[3] As noted in Björn Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture: England and Germany, c. 1215 - c.1250* (Basingstoke, 2007), xii; See, for example, *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London, 1992); *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2011); *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter: Deutschland und England im Vergleich*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2013);

Equally, studies of the exchanges and connections between England and Germany have tended to focus on an earlier period and do not aim at comparison.[4] Systematic comparisons remain rare, but have the potential to reveal how the perception of kingship among contemporaries varied in relation to more fundamental differences in the political structures and culture of the two realms.

High medieval Germany has been neglected by Anglophone historians. Jinty Nelson pointed out that comparatively little English-language scholarship exists on Germany, despite its importance.[5] Graham Loud, Simon MacLean, Nicholas Vincent, and Björn Weiler have all pointed out the lack of attention paid to twelfth-century Germany, when compared to its Carolingian and Ottonian predecessors.[6] Both Loud and Vincent have observed that those who have worked on Germany in the United Kingdom, with a few exceptions, have tended to be students of Karl Leyser.[7] Aside from this, and even to some extent within this group, Vincent concluded that there is:

> 'virtually nothing in the English scholarly literature on the High Middle Ages even remotely concerned with the posing of comparisons between England and Germany, let alone of drawing sensible or profound conclusions from such comparisons'.

England and Germany in the High Middle Ages. In Honour of Karl J. Leyser, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (London, 1996).

[4] As noted by Timothy Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 284-299; Andreas Bihrer, *Begegnungen zwischen dem ostfränkisch-deutschen Reich und England* (850–1100) (Ostfildern, 2012) suggests contacts between the East Frankish kingdom and Anglo-Saxon England were far fewer than had previously been supposed. On this earlier period see Veronica Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Oxford, 1992); Wolfgang Georgi, 'Bischof Keonwald von Worcester und die Heirat Ottos I. mit Edgitha im Jahre 929', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 115 (1995), 1-40; Jürgen Sarnowsky, 'England und der Kontinent im 10. Jahrhundert', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 114 (1994), 47–75; John Insley, 'Continental Germanic personal names in tenth-century England', in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century*, ed. Conrad Leyser, David Rollason, and Hannah Williams (Turnhout, 2010), 35-49; Andreas Bihrer, 'Exiles, Abbots, Wives, and Messengers: Anglo-Saxons in the Tenth-century Reich', *idem*, 51-66. For interactions between England and Germany during the twelfth century, see Benjamin Arnold, 'England and Germany, 1050-1350', in *England and Her Neighbours, 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. Michael E. Jones and Malcolm Vale (London, 1989), 43-51; Karl Leyser, 'England and the Empire in the Early Twelfth Century', in his *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours, 900-1250* (London, 1982), 191-213; Karl Leyser, 'Frederick Barbarossa, Henry II, and the Hand of St James', in his *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours, 900-1250* (London, 1982), 215-240.

[5] *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), xiii.

[6] *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany: 800 - 1500*, ed. Simon MacLean and Björn Weiler (Turnhout, 2006), 11 as well as the references to Loud and Vincent below.

[7] *The Origins of the German Principalities, 1100-1350: Essays by German Historians*, ed. Graham Loud (London, 2017), xi; Nicholas Vincent, 'Sources and Methods: Some Anglo-German Comparisons', in *Princely Rank in Late Medieval Europe* (Ostfildern, 2011), 119-138, at 123. As Vincent noted, the relative lack of interest in medieval Germany contrasts with the approach of an older generation of scholars, above all William Stubbs, who looked to Germany for models of Teutonic freedom.

As Vincent noted, 'there is a distressingly small community of scholars capable of spanning both German and English historical discourse'.[8]

When comparison has been undertaken, Germany has been neglected when compared to its western neighbour. The assumption that France, or even one particular region within it, was representative of a wider European norm was indeed satirised by Reuter: 'All of us in our hearts know, European medieval history is essentially French history'.[9] Vincent has pointed out that the realities of both the cross-channel realm in the High Middle Ages itself, and the calamities of the early twentieth century, have led English medievalists to be more familiar with French, rather than German, historical discourse.[10] As Rodney Thomson noted, until recently, high medieval Germany was also regarded as an intellectual back-water, a late and marginal participant in the twelfth-century renaissance.[11] Charles Haskins had claimed that 'England and Germany were noteworthy, though in the spread of culture from France and Italy, rather than in its origination'.[12] Patrick Geary recalled how a professor at Princeton even dismissed 'the Germanic world as something so esoteric and so bizarre that it could not be integrated into a survey of medieval civilisation'.[13]

Divergences in scholarly traditions and evidence

Comparison has not been made any easier by very real differences in the surviving evidence from the two realms, and the distinctive scholarly traditions that have evolved in Germany and the United Kingdom. German medievalists have tended to focus on narratives,

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[8] Vincent, 'Sources and Methods', 121.

[9] Timothy Reuter and Chris Wickham, 'The "Feudal Revolution"', *Past & Present* 155 (1997), 177-208, at 177-178.

[10] Vincent, 'Sources and Methods', 119-121 which pointed out that, at the Heidelberg symposium at which the papers of the volume in question were presented, the fact that 'most of the German speakers knew English but virtually none of the English speakers could claim to understand German, supplied stark evidence of this state of affairs'. On the connections between medieval historians and this early twentieth century context, see Thomas John Henry McCarthy, 'Salian Intellectual History in Historiographical Perspective', *History Compass* 14:1 (2016), 9-18, at 10.

[11] Rodney Thomson, 'The Place of Germany in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', in *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany*, ed. Alison Beach (Turnhout, 2007), 19–42, at 20.

[12] Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass. 1927), 11. Similarly, Reuter described how Southern's work 'gently but firmly guides its readers away from the Saxon empire, with its strangely 'misfiring leadership', and towards the valleys of the Seine and the Thames as the crucible of the new European civilisation'. See Conrad Leyser, 'Introduction: England and the Continent', in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century*, ed. Conrad Leyser, David Rollason, and Hannah Williams (Turnhout, 2010), 1-13, at 5-6.

[13] Patrick Geary, 'Medieval Germany: Associations and Delineations', in *Medieval Germany: Associations and Delineations*, ed. N. van Deusen (Ottawa, 2000), 1–6, at 1. See the bibliography in McCarthy, 'Salian Intellectual History in Historiographical Perspective', 9-18 on the more recent challenges to this image.

paying greater attention to their conceptual, intellectual, and political horizons.[14] The efforts of their English counterparts have centred on records, a natural response to the wealth of material now in the National Archives. While this allowed historians of England to trace the administrative history of royal government to a far greater degree than was possible for many of their continental peers, the contrast was further heightened by the fact that similar research in Germany was pursued in departments of Law, rather than History.[15] As Reuter warned, however, the approach represented by the Manchester school and T. F. Tout was in danger of neglecting the mentality of the Middle Ages itself. Focusing on administrative records alone, he suggested, risked adopting an approach similar to that of reconstructing the thought-world of an academic department on the basis of the minutes of its meetings alone.[16]

While the wealth of governmental records provided fodder for assertions of exceptionalism, based on the precocious development of the English state, Germany was also regarded as undertaking its own *Sonderweg* in the High Middle Ages, one which diverged from the rest of Europe by its failure to develop a centralised state and national identity.[17] The question of how far, and why, Germany differed from the rest of Europe lay at the very heart of the development of the German historical profession.[18] Furthermore, the question was especially acute for the 'long twelfth century, c. 1070-1220' because, as Reuter put it,

> 'it was in this period, if ever, that the train was missed: if it had been caught, then perhaps the retarding of the nation, and hence the coming too late of state-formation on a national basis, might have been avoided'.[19]

Despite more recent comparative work, by Karl Leyser, Timothy Reuter, Levi Roach, and Björn Weiler, the extent to which English and German kingship differed in the twelfth century is still far from clear. Before we begin, it is worth pausing here to summarise the

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[14] Timothy Reuter, 'Modern Mentalities and Medieval Polities', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 3-18, at 9.
[15] Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture*, xiii; Reuter, 'Modern Mentalities', 17.
[16] Reuter, 'Modern Mentalities', 10-11.
[17] Timothy Reuter, 'Medieval German *Sonderweg*? The Empire and its Rulers in the High Middle Ages', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 388-412, at 388-389. On the *Sonderweg*, see Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany* (Oxford, 1947); Timothy Reuter, 'All Quiet Except on the Western Front? The Emergence of Pre-modern Forms of Statehood in the Central Middle Ages', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 432-458; David Warner, 'Reading Ottonian history: The Sonderweg and Other Myths', in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Turnhout, 2009), 81–114.
[18] Reuter, 'All Quiet Except on the Western Front?', 432.
[19] Reuter, 'All Quiet Except on the Western Front?', 435-436. Reuter was of the impression that the period of the High Middle Ages had, in general, become less central to the profession and that certainly a paradigm shift, of the kind transforming scholarship on the Ottonian period, or the later Middle Ages, was absent.

results of their discussions: their work provides the essential context for the investigation that follows.

Similarities at the foundations

First, it should be noted that most comparative work has veered towards the period before the twelfth century.[20] Karl Leyser suggested that Anglo-Saxon England shared more similarities with the Empire in the tenth century than at any other time in their respective histories.[21] As Reuter highlighted, both England and Germany were multi-regnal empires, forged in the first half of the tenth century by Saxon dynasties using military force, diplomatic initiative, and imperial ideology.[22] Levi Roach has also suggested that the Viking and Magyar threats, faced by England and Germany respectively, helped forge a sense of collective identity especially visible at royal assemblies.[23] By showing the importance of bonds of kinship, in the Anglo-Saxon realm, as well as of ritualised and demonstrative behaviour, Roach demonstrated that English kingship was far less exceptional than is often thought. In addition, Roach proposed that while historians of Anglo-Saxon England should pay greater attention to such practices, so might their German counterparts reassess the importance of administrative expertise in the Ottonian realm, an argument also made by Reuter and Weiler with respect to twelfth-century Germany.[24] In addition, and unlike in West

[20] In addition to the works cited below, see also on the earlier period, David Warner, 'Comparative Approaches to Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian coronations', in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century*, ed. Conrad Leyser, David Rollason, and Hannah Williams (Turnhout, 2010), 275-292; Janet Nelson, 'Tenth-Century Kingship Comparatively', *idem*, 293-308; Thomas Zotz, 'Kingship and Palaces in the Ottonian realm and the Kingdom of England', *idem*, 311-330, the latter of whom argued, at 329, 'in terms of the practice of government, there are hardly any differences that can be established between the two realms'. For a contrary view, see especially Molyneaux below. The exceptions, examining the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are referred to and discussed below.

[21] Karl Leyser, The Ottonians and Wessex', in *Communications and Power in the Middle Ages vol. 1: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. Timothy Reuter (1994), 73-104, at 73.

[22] Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050: Points of Comparison and Difference', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 284-299, at 286-288 summarising his *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c. 800-1056* (London, 1991), 45-84.

[23] Levi Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871-978* (Cambridge, 2013), 234; Leyser, The Ottonians and Wessex', 73-74.

[24] Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England*, esp. 228-232; Timothy Reuter, 'Mandate, Privilege, Court judgement: Techniques of Rulership in the Age of Frederick Barbarossa', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 413-431. On the organisation required to raise armies in the Empire, Bernard S. Bachrach, 'Magyar-Ottonian Warfare: À propos a New Minimalist Interpretation ', *Francia* 27:1 (2000), 211-230; Bernard S. Bachrach and David Bachrach, 'Saxon Military Revolution, 912–973? Myth and Reality', *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), 186-222 as well as, on Ottonian kingship in general, David Bachrach, 'Exercise of Royal Power in Early Medieval Europe: The Case of Otto the Great 936–73', *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), 389-419; David Bachrach, 'The Written Word in Carolingian-Style Fiscal Administration under King Henry I, 919–936', *German History* 28 (2010), 399–423.

Francia, the royal court remained the hub of political activity in both England and Germany in the tenth century.[25]

The position of kingship

Reuter also stressed the important differences between the two realms in the practice of rulership, the nature of each polity's centre, and the variable importance of local and regional traditions.[26] While Reuter allowed that the regionality of English history had often been understated, and that German kings were hardly alone in experiencing the challenges of ruling a polycentric realm with the help of local power-brokers, nonetheless Germany was a 'conglomeration of ethnically-defined regions' to an extent that England simply was not.[27] In Germany, the duchies had their own historical and political agency, not least in disputes over the royal succession. The duchies were also far bigger: Bavaria alone was at least the same size as Wessex.[28] The importance of Germany's regional and disparate nature, the uncertainty of its boundaries, and its nature as an assemblage of people and kingdoms, has often been stressed.[29] Leyser characterised the kingdom as a 'commonweal sustained by aristocratic prejudices and shadowy, rather fluid solidarities', while Reuter spoke of the 'flavour of the aristocratic or princely commonwealth which was the *regnum Teutonicum*', a consequence, he argued, not of any decline of royal authority in the High Middle Ages, but of the kingdom's early formation.[30]

The position of kings in such a realm was very different from that in England. Because the crown was not the sole source of legitimate authority, the collective element of justice and conflict resolution was emphasised, the German king aiming to regulate, rather than eliminate, disputes among his nobility.[31] As a consequence, Reuter suggested, questions of honour and status took on a greater prominence in Germany than in England: face-to-face politics mattered more in a rather looser polity, where the king was head of the realm, but did

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[25] As pointed out by Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England*, 234; Björn Weiler, 'Review article: Power and Politics in Medieval History, c. 850–c.1170', *Early Medieval Europe* 16 (2008), 477-493.
[26] Reuter, 'All Quiet Except on the Western Front?', 449.
[27] Reuter, 'Making of England and Germany', 289-290; Reuter, 'Medieval German *Sonderweg*?', 400.
[28] Reuter, 'Making of England and Germany', 290 which also criticises the 'unregional' approach often applied to English history.
[29] See, for example, John Gillingham, 'Elective Kingship and the Unity of Medieval Germany', *German History* 9 (1991), 124-135.
[30] For such a characterisation, see Karl Leyser, 'Frederick Barbarossa; Court and Country', in *Communications and Power in the Middle Ages vol. 2: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond* (London, 1994), 143-155, at 143, 'kaleidoscopic commonwealth' at 147; Karl Leyser, 'Frederick Barbarossa and the Hohenstaufen polity', *idem*, 115-142, at 115, 140; Reuter, 'Medieval German *Sonderweg*?', 392.
[31] Reuter, 'Medieval German *Sonderweg*?', 396-398.

not dominate it.[32] The court itself, in turn, had a rather different role. It was not, Reuter claimed, 'a cultural and moral centre to the polity, even under Barbarossa'.[33] Instead, it was an assembly of magnates in a realm in which such figures 'knew their own importance' and who perhaps earlier than any of their European peers, saw themselves as embodying the political community and the kingdom itself.[34] According to Reuter, the importance they attached to rank and status was the reason rulers survived: kingship was 'a social construct, the result of political market forces' and, though the German nobility had no desire for 'kingship just around the corner' in the English style, they did seek an overarching structure which legitimised their own authority. In short, while royal authority was hardly insignificant in the Empire; here the monarchy underpinned, rather than dominated, a realm which incorporated multiple, increasingly assertive and self-conscious sources of political authority.[35]

The practice of kingship

The peculiarity most noticed by contemporaries was the elective nature of royal succession in the German kingdom. Both Reuter and Gillingham have argued that this was not as dramatic a difference in reality as one might assume, with royal successions nearly always disputed in England in the same period.[36] Greater scholarly attention has been paid to differences in the practice of royal government. As Reuter put it, Germany

> 'from its beginnings... was decentralised (or better: polycentric), unbureaucratic, untaxed, lacking any homogenous network of administrative institutions which could be controlled by a 'centre''.

While recognising doubts regarding the 'maximalist' case for the late Anglo-Saxon state, the ease with which England could be conquered (by internal or foreign contenders) was itself testimony to the realm's centralised nature.[37] Even allowing for different historiographical

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[32] Reuter, 'Medieval German *Sonderweg*?', esp. 392-393, 398, 400.
[33] Reuter, 'Medieval German *Sonderweg*?', 400-401.
[34] Reuter, 'Medieval German *Sonderweg*?', 401-402: 'The notion of the crown as an abstraction is found in the Reich at the end of the eleventh century, hence at least as early as, if not earlier than, anywhere else in Europe, and by Henry V's time the magnates were capable of seeing themselves as collectively incorporating the Reich, and the king as someone who needed to have peace imposed on him'. See Stefan Weinfurter, 'Reformidee und Königtum im spätsalischen Reich. Überlegungen zu einer Neubewertung Kaiser Heinrichs V', in his *Reformidee und Reformpolitik im spätsalisch-frühstaufischen Reich* (Mainz, 1992), 1-45; Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition* (Philadelphia, Pa. 1999).
[35] Reuter, 'Medieval German *Sonderweg*?', 406-407.
[36] Reuter, 'All Quiet Except on the Western Front?', 448; Gillingham, 'Elective Kingship', 124-135.
[37] Reuter, 'Making of England and Germany', 290. Reuter memorably suggested that the English polity was like a car: 'it needed a driver, but anyone who knew how to drive could drive it'. On the late Anglo-Saxon state,

traditions, and disparities in the surviving evidence, Reuter concluded that there was a real difference in the nature and intensity of royal government.[38] The administrative and legal framework differed considerably: the framework of shires, extended northward from Wessex by Alfred's successors, had no parallel in the Empire.[39] In the twelfth century, the personnel of royal government represented a further contrast. Reuter argued that the establishment of a new class of well-educated officials, prominent in England, northern France (and the papal *curia*), was less apparent in Germany.[40] Sections of the royal household were also rooting themselves at fixed places in England, a development that both Reuter and Gillingham pointed out owed much to the absence of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings abroad.[41] Amid attempts by rulers across the Latin West to secure more regular incomes, including by negotiation with their nobilities, the German kings did not follow suit.[42]

As many have pointed out, England was a fraction of the Empire's size, a factor Reuter suggested that may have underpinned the contrasts in political style between the two realms. [43] Historians have generally been more content to note the difference in size, than to explain why it mattered or how it affected the ideal or practice of kingship.[44] Roach has suggested, however, that the English kingdom's relatively natural borders, with neighbours

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James Campbell, 'Observations on English Government from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 25 (1975), 159-165; James Campbell, 'The Significance of the Anglo-Norman State in the Administrative History of Western Europe', in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), 155–170; James Campbell, 'The Late Old English state: a Maximum View', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 87 (1994), 39–65. See Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England*; George Molyneaux, *The Formation of the English Kingdom in the Tenth Century* (Oxford, 2015).

[38] Reuter, 'Making of England and Germany', 292-295.

[39] Reuter, 'Making of England and Germany', 296; Leyser, 'Frederick Barbarossa and the Hohenstaufen polity', esp. 157; Molyneaux, *Formation of the English Kingdom*, 234-237.

[40] Reuter, 'All Quiet Except on the Western Front?', 439-440; Richard Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard', in his *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), 183–205; W. L. Warren, *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England 1086–1272* (London, 1987), 125-133; Benjamin Arnold, *German Knighthood, 1050–1300* (Oxford, 1985); Thomas Zotz, 'Die Formierung der Ministerialität', in *Die Salier und das Reich, III. Gesellschaftlicher und ideengeschichtlicher Wandel im Reich der Salier*, ed. Stefan Weinfurter et al (Sigmaringen, 1991), 3–50.

[41] Reuter, 'All Quiet Except on the Western Front?', 440; Gillingham, 'Elective Kingship', 133.

[42] Reuter, 'All Quiet Except on the Western Front?', 446-447; Gillingham, 'Elective Kingship', 131-132. As Reuter noted, such differences in rulership did not stem from ignorance of techniques utilised elsewhere. Henry II may, for instance, have hoped that Becket would behave in the manner of an imperial chancellor-archbishop of the Rainald of Dassel mould, while when general taxation was proposed in the Empire, by Henry V and Otto IV, it was regarded as a sign of corrupting English influence. See Reuter, 'Medieval German *Sonderweg*?', 410-411. John Gillingham, *The Kingdom of Germany in the High Middle Ages, 900–1200* (London, 1971), 28–29.

[43] Gillingham, *The Kingdom of Germany*, 30 points out, for example, that German ruler's sacral status did not enable him to ride faster: rulers of Germany were still 'at the mercy of the size their kingdom'.

[44] Reuter, 'Medieval German *Sonderweg*?', 402-403. See also, on Germany's geopolitical position, Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, 160–174, 253–274. In general, the issue of size does not receive in-depth discussion beyond suggestions that rulership was less intense. See also Charles Insley, '"Ottonians with Pipe Rolls"? Political Culture and Performance in the Kingdom of the English, c. 900-c. 1050', *History* 102 (2017), 772-786, especially 779, 785.

who were easy targets for plunder, may have aided internal stability and enhanced notions of imperial rule.[45] The kingdom's smaller size and, compared to Germany, relative ease of travel also presumably strengthened what Reuter called a 'regnal solidarity', one perceptible in England but not in Germany. Gillingham and Leyser stressed that kings and their itineraries provided the principal means for binding the *regnum Teutonicorum* together.[46] Reuter similarly proposed that symbols such as the Holy Lance and the Imperial Crown mattered more in Germany where there was 'no institutional core around which a transpersonal view of the state could develop'.[47] The Empire, called together, according to Reuter, by royal command and then reconstructed in the tenth century as a confederation, long lacked such an identity.[48] The English had a unity, in law, custom, and language, that in Germany only existed in terms of a shared royal lordship.

The lack of such bonds was intertwined with the fact that the German kingdom contained more 'confused historical traditions'. Whereas authors of history in England looked primarily (if not exclusively) to Wessex, in Germany there were multiple historical traditions to choose from, in part because of the shift of royal dynasty from Saxony to the Rhineland. A rich tradition of Saxon historiography, for example, continued and expanded in the twelfth century.[49] Reuter noted that, while Anglo-Saxon historians were connected to the kingdom's ninth-century roots through the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Ottonians writers showed understandably little interest in their kingdom's Carolingian origins.[50] Reuter also suggested that the Saxon revolts, and the struggle between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* in the late eleventh century, caused a crisis of historical consciousness. While Germany was not alone in facing such ruptures, with contemporaries in England struggling to accommodate the Norman Conquest, German authors certainly took solace in a Roman, rather than an early medieval

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[45] Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England,* 233.
[46] Gillingham, 'Elective Kingship', 124-125; Karl Leyser, 'Ottonian Government', *English Historical Review* 96 (1981), 721-753, at 746-747. The essay is reprinted in *Medieval Germany and its neighbours 900-1250*, ed. Karl Leyser (London, 1982), 69-101.
[47] Reuter, 'Making of England and Germany', 290-291. Molyneaux, *The Formation of the English Kingdom in the Tenth Century*; Insley, '"Ottonians with Pipe Rolls"', 784 with references on this 'core' and the regional disparities in the intensity of Anglo-Saxon royal lordship. See Helmut Beumann, 'Zur Entwicklung transpersonaler Staatsvorstellungen', in *Das Königtum. Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen*, ed. Theodor Mayer (Sigmaringen, 1956), 185-224.
[48] Reuter, 'Making of England and Germany', 296-299. Indeed, Reuter suggested it was telling that it was Italians, above all, who noticed the difference, with references to the *regnum Teutonicorum* few until the term was popularised by Gregory VII (and even then precisely to cut down Salian pretensions).
[49] Timothy Reuter, 'Past, Present and no Future in the Twelfth-century Regnum Teutonicum', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London, 1992), 15-36; Reuter, 'Making of England and Germany', 290-291.
[50] On this point, see also Simon MacLean, 'The Carolingian Past in Post-Carolingian Europe', in *The Making of Europe: Essays in Honour of Robert Bartlett*, ed. Sally Crumplin and John Hudson (Leiden, 2016), 11-31.

and royal, past.[51] In short, historical consciousness in the Empire was perhaps as decentralised as its sense of identity and practice of rulership.

Much of the research described above has focused on the practice of kingship i.e. the means, or lack thereof, at the disposal of monarchs to make their will felt, especially at a local level. How far did contemporaries notice these differences? What importance did they attach to them? Did the undeniable contrasts outlined above affect the ideals and expectations of royal behaviour expressed by contemporaries? Whereas Reuter drew attention to important differences in the practice of royal justice,[52] Björn Weiler pointed out that far less attention has been paid to how such differences were perceived.[53] Weiler's analysis concluded that the image of royal justice created by contemporary chroniclers differed, both from reality as revealed shown by other sources, but also between England and Germany. Authors had thus constructed their own sets of distinct royal ideals, built from cultural and political traditions peculiar to their own realms.[54] Although his own comparative work had a somewhat different focus, Reuter too warned of a tendency (among English medievalists) to treat the underlying structures of royal governance, and the archival evidence they produce, as inherently more valuable than contemporary testimony and ideas.[55] As Levi Roach noted of the preceding period,

> 'to read Thietmar side by side with Byrhtferth, or Ruotger alongside B, is an arresting experience; the differences between Germany and England seem to melt away before one's very eyes'[56]

How far can the same be said of their twelfth-century equivalents?

The near-complete absence of the Church, from the comparisons cited above, is also striking. Any such comparisons have been few and far between, a state of affairs all the more surprising given the shared Anglo-Saxon heritage of the two Churches. It has been often noted, though, that royal control over the episcopate in the two realms was broadly similar.[57]

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[51] Reuter, 'Past, Present and no Future in the twelfth-century Regnum Teutonicum', 19-20, 35.
[52] See especially Reuter, 'All Quiet Except on the Western Front?', 441-443.
[53] Björn Weiler, 'The King as Judge: Henry II and Frederick Barbarossa as Seen by their Contemporaries', in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Turnhout, 2009), 115-140, at 117-118.
[54] Weiler, 'The King as Judge', 121-122, 124-126, 131-137.
[55] On the habit of assuming that 'the differences behind the scenes were of far deeper importance', see Reuter, 'All Quiet Except on the Western Front?', 454.
[56] Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England,* 228.
[57] Again, the majority of the focus has been on the period before the twelfth century: For suggestions that royal control was broadly comparable see Timothy Reuter, 'The "Imperial Church System" of the Ottonian and Salian

Several significant differences have also been noted. Despite York's protests, the metropolitan hierarchy was more settled in England, with Canterbury already considerably more powerful. Gerd Tellenbach stressed that there was a unified *ecclesia anglicana*, by contrast to Germany where only royal overlordship provided a semblance of unity.[58] Distances between the diocese and the royal court were also shorter in England, while Reuter noted that German bishoprics tended to have more economic and military clout than their English counterparts.[59] As with comparisons between the two realms more generally, we are presented then with a complex mix of similarities and differences that defy straightforward juxtaposition and that raise further questions regarding how the king's interactions with his prelates was represented in the two realms. We will now turn to the sources which allow us to pursue them.

2. The foundation for comparison: the *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum*

Björn Weiler has suggested that historians of political thought have tended to sidestep the High Middle Ages due to the relative lack of the kind of abstract political treatises that have traditionally formed the foundation of their research. In doing so, they have overlooked the far wider range of evidence available for how contemporaries thought and discussed the ideals and practice of kingship.[60] While the approach pioneered by German historians, of

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rulers. A Reconsideration', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982), 347-374; Catherine Cubitt, 'Bishops and Succession Crises in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waβenhoven (Berlin, 2011), 111-126; Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early-Twelfth Century*, trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1993), 60; Frank Barlow, *English Church 1000-1066: A History of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church* (London, 1979), 98-99 who pointed out that 'it is German rather than French or Italian history which serves best as a commentary on English affairs'; Norman Cantor, *Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture in England: 1089-1135* (New York, 1958), 27; Julia Barrow, 'Demonstrative Behaviour and Political Communication in Later Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007), 127-150, at 149 however, suggested that royal control over episcopal appointments was somewhat stronger in England than in Germany. See also Julia Barrow, 'Education and the recruitment of cathedral canons in England and Germany 1100-1225', *Viator* 20 (1989), 117-138.

[58] Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, 60, 63.

[59] Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, 86; Timothy Reuter, '"Episcopi cum sua militia": the prelate as warrior in the early Staufer era', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1992), 79-94; Thomson, 'Place of Germany', 25 also claimed that the Ciceronian ideal of royal service permeated German hagiography in a manner unique to Germany.

[60] Björn Weiler, 'Thinking about power before Magna Carta: the role of History', in *Des chartes aux constitutions: Autour de l'idée constitutionnelle en Europe (XIIe-XVIIe siècles)* (forthcoming); Walter Ullmann, *Medieval Political Thought* (Harmondsworth, 1975); Anthony J. Black, *Political Thought in Europe, 1250–1450* (Cambridge, 1992); *Fürstenspiegel des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, ed. and trans. Hans Hubert Anton (Darmstadt, 2006) includes only John of Salisbury and Godfrey of Viterbo; *Le Prince au mirroir de la literature politique de l'Antiquité aux Lumières*, ed. Frédérique Lachaud and Lydwine Scordia (Rouen, 2007), also contains only John of Salisbury); Joseph Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought, 300–1450* (London 1996), similarly limits itself to papal letters and John of Salisbury.

examining the political horizons and expectations of medieval historiography, is now more widespread, even here studies tend to be restricted to a single chronicler, realm, or ruler, making it difficult to judge how widespread the norms invoked were or how they varied across the Latin West.[61] When comparing the representation of kingship in England and Germany, we face one of the major challenges of comparative history, namely how to avoid comparing the proverbial 'apples and oranges'.[62] It can prove difficult to find truly analogous narrative sources from two such polities. The survival of particular genres in one may itself point to underlying structural differences. For example, we have no English equivalents to the *Historia Welforum* nor any parallel in Germany to the handbooks on royal administration produced in England. The extraordinary outburst of historical writing in the latter also focused primarily on the deeds of kings. Perhaps influenced by what they found in Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, twelfth-century historians in England were already more inclined than their German counterparts to view the past through the prism of the royal court, rather than from a local or regional perspective. There are also few surviving English parallels to the wealth of universal chronicles produced in the Empire and, more surprisingly, we lack royal biographies of the Plantagenets comparable to those produced of their Staufer allies.[63] Identifying workable comparisons between twelfth-century England and Germany is thus far from straightforward.

In this respect, exploring the *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum* offers several advantages. First, despite some important variations, compared with the material described above, the hagiography, episcopal biographies, and diocesan histories examined by this study shared

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[61] See, for example, Helmut Beumann, 'Die Historiographie des Mittelalters als Quelle für die Ideengeschichte des Königtums', *Historische Zeitschrift* 180 (1955), 449-488; František Graus, 'Die Herrschersagen des Mittelalters als Geschichtsquelle', in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von František Graus 1959-1989*, ed. Hans-Jörg Gilomen, Peter Moraw and Rainer C. Schwinges (Stuttgart, 2002), 3-27; Sverre Bagge, *Kings, Politics, and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography, c. 950-1150* (Leiden and Boston, 2002); Leah Shopkow, Leah. *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington D. C, 1997); János M. Bak, 'Legitimization of Rulership in Three Narratives from Twelfth-Century Central Europe', *Majestas* 12 (2004), 43-60; Ana Rodríguez, 'History and Topography for the Legitimisation of Royalty in Three Castilian Chronicles', *Majestas* 12 (2004), 61-82; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, 1997), 83-98.

[62] As pointed out in Levi Roach, 'Penance, Submission and Deditio: Religious Influences on Dispute Settlement in later Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 41 (2012), 343-371, at 369; Chris Wickham, 'Problems in Doing Comparative History', in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Turnhout, 2009), 5-28, especially 5-14.

[63] See Weiler, 'King as Judge', 135-140; Björn Weiler, 'How Unusual was Matthew Paris? The Writing of Universal History in Angevin England', in *Universal Chronicles in Europe, 1000-1500*, ed. M. Campopiano (York, 2016), 199-222; Nicholas Vincent, 'The Strange Case of the Missing Biographies: The Lives of the Plantagenet Kings of England 1154-1272', in *Writing Medieval Biography, 750-1250*, ed. David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), 237-258.

fundamental similarities in terms of their authorship, context of production, purpose, and audience. They were all produced by monks or cathedral canons and are an ideal source with which to examine how religious communities viewed the king. The stories we find of kings in these works may be thought of as a kind of institutional memory, the gossip discussed in the cloister or cathedral precinct fixed in literary form. Examining them allows us to broaden the number of voices contributing to the history of high medieval political thought. Interpretations of kingship are no less valuable for being produced from a local perspective. Indeed, by looking at discussions of kings in texts composed without rulership as their primary focus, we can see how and when kings entered the historical and institutional consciousness of these communities and the manner in which they were characterised in passing, rather than as the result of prolonged reflection. While Reuter rightly cautioned that the *vitae* are less useful for examining whether, and how, ideals of behaviour were put into practice, he suggested that further comparative work, especially between England and Germany, provided a fruitful way forward.[64] While we are, of course, still dealing with the views of a narrow clerical elite, the proximity of these authors to both bishops and, more occasionally, to kings and the royal court means that their perspectives on royal and episcopal behaviour are worth taking seriously. These sources also survive in far greater numbers than any other narrative genre. While this study is not comprehensive, it is nonetheless the largest examination of such materials to date, exploring the representation of kingship in a total of 68 *vitae* or *gesta episcoporum* in addition to many of their Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian predecessors, as well as their biblical, classical, and patristic models.

Our sample includes 27 examples from England and 41 from Germany. Although the monastic character of the English Church has often been stressed, it is worth noting that, in terms of authorship, there is less of a divide than one may expect. Of our 27 examples from England, 17 (probably 18) were written by monks and 8 by clerks. In our sample from Germany, it appears that at least 22 of the authors were monks and 13 clerks. The ratio of monastic to secular authors is thus broadly similar. The greater number of German examples in general, partly reflects the more numerous dioceses of the *regnum Teutonicorum*, but also differences in the size of the works: William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* and Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita* were themselves larger than a dozen of our German examples

[64] Timothy Reuter, '"Filii matris nostrae pugnant adversum nos": Bonds and Tensions between Prelates and their "milites" in the German High Middle Ages', in *Chiesa e mondo feudale nei secoli X-XII. Atti della dodicesima Settimana internazionale di studio. Mendola 24-28 agosto* (Milan, 1992), 241-276, at 249, 274.

combined, and this before we consider disparities in the coverage of kings. This study confines itself to England and Germany, rather than the wider Anglo-Norman, Angevin, or Holy Roman empires.[65] Even within these realms, however, there are notable absences. The loss of the twelfth-century *gesta episcoporum* produced at Mainz is particularly regrettable for the comparison it could have offered with Canterbury (although we do have extant *vitae* of the archbishops of both Mainz and Cologne).[66] As Stephanie Haarländer pointed out in her study of the Ottonian and Salian *vitae*, only a small percentage of bishops have an episcopal biography extant.[67] The image of the episcopate bequeathed to us by these sources, including their relationship to the king, is thus highly selective. For example, no biographies survive, nor were perhaps written, of the bishops Henry IV intruded into Germany.[68] The genre of *gesta episcoporum* itself is also largely absent from England, while Germany, and in fact Christendom as a whole, produced no equivalent to William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*.[69] Although the distinctions between the genres of hagiography, *vitae*, and *gesta episcoporum* are worth bearing in mind, and are discussed further below, the shared characteristics of these sources, and their sheer number, provide the best means available to undertake a detailed and systematic comparison. This study, as a consequence, represents the first attempt to analyse the portrayal of twelfth-century kingship in what remains the largest narrative genre extant from the two realms.

If we turn briefly to the chronological span of the *vitae* and *gesta* in each realm, as well as their periods of composition, several factors become clear. The limitations on the information included in Appendix 1 and 2, which form the basis of the graphs in Appendix 3

[65] For an important reminder of the need to bear in mind the other regions of the Empire, such as Italy, see Levi Roach, 'Ottonian and Italy', *German History* 36:3 (2018), 349-364. While it would be desirable to extend the analysis undertaken by this study to other parts of both the Empire, and to the continental lands ruled by the Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings, the relationship of the king to the episcopate in each of these areas is less easy to compare. Roach's characterisation of Italy 'as a distinctive, but integral, part of the wider East Frankish realm' is useful in this regard. Timothy Reuter equally noted that the Staufer rulers were a 'completely different beast' in Italy, compared to Germany: Timothy Reuter, 'Vom Parvenü zum Bündnispartner: das Königreich Sizilien in der abendländischen Politik des 12. Jahrhunderts', in *Die Staufer im Süden: Sizilien und das Reich*, ed. Theo Kölzer (Sigmaringen, 1996), 43–56, at 49. As Roach suggested, this does not make the region any less important to our understanding of the Empire as a whole. The distinctiveness would, nonetheless, complicate a comparison which already has to accommodate a number of significant differences between the two polities, without considering in addition the other regions to which they attached.

[66] Reuter, 'Past, Present and no Future in the Twelfth-Century Regnum Teutonicum', 26-27. A twelfth-century *gesta episcoporum* also appears to have been lost from Worms.

[67] Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart, 2000), 18.

[68] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 342.

[69] As pointed out in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 2: xxxii.

and 4, must be borne in mind: the latter offer, at most, an *impression* of the chronological patterns.[70] Nonetheless, we can draw several conclusions.

Regarding the periods of history covered by these sources (Appendix 3), we can see how the efforts of individual authors, and the event of Becket's murder, have warped our findings. In England, we also have a notable spike of interest in the tenth century, but this is largely due to the work of Osbern and Eadmer of Canterbury. For Germany, the longer perspectives offered by the *gesta* contrast with England (with the exception of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*), but the graphs mislead in the sense that coverage varied enormously within the works, with the greatest attention paid, even by the *gesta*, to the most recent bishops. The interest in the tenth century among the German authors was nonetheless more marked than in England and contrasts, in particular, with a lack of coverage after 1150. We shall argue in chapter 4, however, that those few examples that do survive for late twelfth-century Germany (in particular, the *Vita Arnoldi* and *Vita Hartmanni*) offer a valuable corrective: previous studies have tended to analyse the *vitae*, and their image of episcopal and royal behaviour in Germany, only until the mid-twelfth century, assuming that their portrayal was typical of a trend towards decentralised royal authority and the rise of the prince-bishopric. Extending the analysis further, and including examples of how bishops were portrayed in relation to Frederick Barbarossa, challenges such assumptions.

If we look at the composition dates of these texts (Appendix 4), the pattern is rather more uniform (particularly in Germany, aside perhaps from a slight spike in the 1130s). In England, the same is true barring the wealth of biographies written in the 1170s and 1180s after Becket's death. While these disparities should be borne in mind, we nonetheless have a range of source material, for both realms, composed across the full length of the period under discussion.

Before we turn to two particular advantages these sources present for the study of the representation of kingship, we should first examine the similarities between what are

[70] First, it is worth reiterating that the information provided in the appendices, and hence the graphs, represents only the *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum* examined by this study – it is far from comprehensive. Second, the difficulties of dating these texts are well-known. The information used is drawn from the previous scholarship and editions and any attempt to confirm these through an in-depth analysis would be beyond the scope of this investigation. Furthermore, it was necessary, for the purpose of creating the graphs, to treat the dates of composition in particular as definitive: thus '1092-1133, probably c. 1100' is taken 'as '1100' in the graph as is 1181, for example, for 'circa 1181'. It must be reiterated then that these graphs are only useful for providing an impression of the broader patterns and any conclusions drawn from them pertain more to the parameters of this study, than to the development of the two genres in both polities more generally.

sometimes regarded as three separate genres: hagiography (specifically here of bishops), episcopal *vitae*, and the *gesta episcoporum.*

Purposes

As Robert Bartlett pointed out, hagiography was intended to elicit *admiratio, exultatio* and *imitatio*: the audience should wonder at the remarkable deeds of the saints, take satisfaction from association with them, and model their behaviour on the saint's example.[71] These texts were used, in the religious communities in which they were produced, to celebrate and preserve the saint's memory. For this reason, saints' lives were often divided into more manageable chunks (*lectiones*) to be read out in the liturgy on a saint's feast day or more generally in the monk's chapter house, in the refectory, or in meetings of the cathedral chapter.[72] Of the texts examined here, R. M. Loomis highlighted that the punctuation used in Gerald of Wales's *Life of St Hugh*, for example, indicates the text was written for recitation.[73] Excerpts from Eadmer's *vitae* of Oda of Canterbury and of Oswald of Worcester were also used to celebrate their feast days at Canterbury and Worcester respectively.[74] Bartlett further noted that the *vitae* often appear to modern readers as a collection of anecdotes, lacking chronological coherence, a judgement indeed applicable to the accounts of kingship examined by this study. Bartlett argued that these texts were given coherence instead, not by structure, but by their overriding aim to convince the audience of the subject's virtue and sanctity.[75] As Stephanie Haarländer pointed out, the specific purpose of canonisation could be relatively rare. Her examination of 55 German *vitae* found that only six appear to have been composed with that objective in mind.[76] Although the *Lives* of Anselm (r. 1093-1109) and Becket (r. 1162-1170), produced by John of Salisbury, as well as Gerald of Wales' *Life* of Hugh of Lincoln (r. 1186-1200), certainly fit that category, in general our authors were more interested in stressing the exemplary nature of their bishop's conduct, both to defend him from criticism and as an example to his successors.

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[71] A detailed study of the twelfth-century hagiography produced in England (as well as Germany) is much needed. The most recent survey is Robert Bartlett, 'The Hagiography of Angevin England', *Thirteenth Century England* 5 (1995), 37-52, at 42-43 for the purposes of the *vitae.* Otherwise the most notable study has been Michael Staunton, *Thomas Becket and His Biographers* (Woodbridge, 2006).
[72] See also Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* (Princeton, 2013), 507.
[73] Punctuation indicating a use for recitation is also found in Gerald of Wales, *The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln,* ed. and trans. Richard M. Loomis (London, 1985), xliv; Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, xxix.
[74] Eadmer, *Saints Lives*, lvi, ccxxii-cxxiii.
[75] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 518-19.
[76] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 22.

Other motivations were, of course, also at play. Episcopal biographies could be written at the behest of the then presiding bishop or, in England at least, at the request of another religious community. Some authors, such as Eadmer of Canterbury, William of Malmesbury, and Rupert of Deutz, made clear that they wished to correct the mistakes, or improve the style, of older *vitae*. Particular attention has been paid by historians to the biography as instruments of power, dedicated to pursuing political or legal claims on the community's behalf.[77] Rather than mirrors of conduct, Stephanie Coué characterised the late eleventh and twelfth-century German *vitae* she examined as 'spiritual weapons' forged to tackle 'concrete problems'. Although Coué rightly emphasised the importance of local circumstances in determining the contents of the *vitae*, such a detailed approach is beyond the present study, given the number of examples considered. In addition, Coué's readings have occasionally been characterised as overconfident, with the question raised as to how far the audience for these texts were receptive to the complex arguments she has uncovered.[78] The desire to offer the bishop's conduct as an example of exemplary behaviour was, in any case, foregrounded by these authors to a far greater extent. The author of the *Vita Gundulfi*, for instance, presented the bishop's deeds as an example to future generations.[79] Michael Staunton stressed that Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* aimed to exalt Anselm of Canterbury's *conversatio*, his way of life.[80] Eadmer had updated his works in 1119 precisely because his fellow monks had begun to criticise that conduct.[81] The author of the first *Life of Otto of Bamberg* similarly stressed that the bishop's deeds should be written down to edify future readers.[82] John of Salisbury's *Vita Sancti Thomae* pointed out Becket's status as a martyr, before urging his readers to turn to the 'vast volumes which have been written by him, and about him', works which would 'encourage both present and future generations to virtue'.[83]

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[77] Stephanie Coué, *Hagiographie im Kontext. Schreibanlaß und Funktion von Bischofsviten aus dem 11. und vom Anfrang des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin & New York, 1997). See also Timothy Reuter, 'Property Transactions and Social Relations between Rulers, Bishops and Nobles in Early Eleventh-Century Saxony: The Evidence of the Vita Meinwerci', in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 1995), 165-199.

[78] Jonathan Rotondo-McCord, 'Review: Hagiographie im Kontext: Schreibanlass und Funktion von Bischofsviten aus dem 11. und vom Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts', *The Medieval Review* (2007) available at https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/14639 accessed 14/09/2018.

[79] Rodney Thomson pointed out that the work both provided a model of behaviour future bishops of Rochester, but also helped the monks wage a campaign of 'territorial aggression'. *The Life of Gundulf Bishop of Rochester*, 9-10, 25.

[80] Michael Staunton, 'Eadmer's Vita Anselmi: A Reinterpretation', *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 1-14.

[81] Richard Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer* (Cambridge, 2009), 236.

[82] 'Vita Ottonis I' in *Heiligenleben zur deutsch-slawischen Geschichte. Adalbert von Prag und Otto von Bamberg*, ed. L. Weinrich (Darmstadt, 2005), 120-121.

[83] Similar comments were made by John of Salisbury in his *Vita Anselmi* as well as William FitzStephen's *Vita S. Thomae* and Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita.* See John of Salisbury, *Vita St Anselmi*, ed. Migne, Patrologia Latina, 199 (Paris, 1900), 1009; John of Salisbury, *Anselm & Becket: Two Canterbury Saints' Lives*, trans.

The *Vita Annonis Minor*, which Coué stressed was written to defend the archbishop's conduct, insisted that nothing was more praiseworthy than to recite examples of virtue.[84] In a particularly striking passage, William of Malmesbury even suggested that Wulfstan of Worcester (r. 1062-1095) provided a more useful example to his readers that those of the Bible: 'because of his recent date', contemporaries would find it easier to follow Wulfstan's model.[85] The desire to offer the bishop's conduct, as a model of edification, sat alongside the obligation to preserve his memory and to defend it from the accusations of opponents. The *vitae* thus had an important role to play, whether in maintaining the cohesion, memory, and virtue of the community, or in convincing a wider public of the bishop's importance and merits (though the evidence for the latter is rather more scarce).

These aims are very similar to those of the *gesta episcoporum* composed in Germany. These texts, composed in cathedral chapters or monasteries attached to the bishopric in question, consisted of a series of episcopal biographies, which together formed a history of the diocese that celebrated its venerable past.[86] As a source for ideals of clerical (let alone royal) behaviour, and as a testimony to twelfth-century historical memory, the *gesta* have received even less attention than *vitae* and a lack of comparative studies was criticised by Dirk Schlochtermeyer.[87] Our investigation builds upon his analysis of the *gesta* produced at Hildesheim, Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Merseburg, Metz, Toul, and Eichstätt, while extending it to Trier, Hamburg, Cambrai, and Verdun.[88] Schlochtermeyer pointed out that, in the *gesta* he examined, the author tended to be a clerk in close proximity to the most recent bishop although, in the case of Toul and Hildesheim, the initiative appears to have come from the clerics themselves during a lengthy vacancy.[89]

Ronald E. Pepin (Toronto, 2009), 17-18, 73-74; *MTB* 3: 1-2; Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis. The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, ed. and trans. Decima L. Douie and David Hugh Farmer, 2 vols. (Oxford 1961–1985), 1: 90.

[84] *Vita Annonis Minor: Die Jüngere Annovita*, ed. and trans. Mauritius Mittler (Siegburg, 1975), 2-3.

[85] William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives. Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 12-13.

[86] Dirk Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters: Die politische Instrumentalisierung von Geschichtsschreibung* (Paderborn, 1998), 11-28; Franz-Josef Schmale, *Funktion und Formen mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreibung. Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt, 1993), 124-136; Michel Sot, 'Arguments hagiographiques et historiographiques dans les "Gesta episcoporum"', in *Hagiographie, cultures et societes IV.-XII. Siecles* (Paris 1981), 95-104.

[87] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters*, 26-27, 184.

[88] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters*, 28 excluded the *gesta* produced at Trier and at Hamburg (by Adam of Bremen) on the grounds that the first was more concerned with pride in the episcopal city and the second with the importance of missionary work and Adalbert of Bremen's pontificate. While Schlochtermeyer was correct to draw attention to the fact that these *gesta* in particular had other interests, they remain fundamentally accounts of the *gesta episcoporum* and should be considered as such.

[89] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters*, 181.

The aims of the *gesta* were similar to those of the *vitae*, though set in a longer chronological perspective. Michel Sot described how the *gesta* made the latest bishop the heir to an accumulation of holiness built up by his predecessors.[90] He suggested that these texts were often written at moments of crisis, to support political and legal claims, to enhance the diocese's prestige, and to offer the latest prelate advice and instruction. By evaluating bishops by how far they had protected and enhanced the diocese, the *gesta*, unlike the *vitae*, offered criticism of episcopal conduct: they could thus be a warning, as much as an exemplar, to their successors.[91] For example, Adam of Bremen dedicated his history to the new archbishop, Liemar (r. 1072-1101), a stranger to the diocese, in order that he would be reminded of the example set by his predecessors.[92] The Halberstadt and Magdeburg *gesta* similarly stressed the importance of both retaining, and learning from, the memory of forbears.[93] By composing the *gesta* on the death of a bishop or during a vacancy, the cathedral canons could make clear their expectations of a successor.[94] In this regard, the sense of insecurity felt in particular by dioceses of relatively recent creation, such as Merseburg, also provides an important context for the creation of the *gesta*.[95] Schlochtermeyer suggested that the Investiture Contest provided a further impetus, forcing these communities to look to their past to reassess their loyalties to king and/or pope.[96] These accounts were not solely defensive, however. Sot, Hans Werner-Goetz and Stefan Weinfurter have suggested that the *gesta* also forged communal consciousness and pride in the diocese's history. In this sense, they were a literary accompaniment to the development of the prince-bishoprics in twelfth-century Germany and their increasing political, territorial, and economic power.[97] In their desire to preserve the memory of deceased bishops, to strengthen the community's cohesion, and to encourage

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[90] On the history, geographical distribution, and purposes of the genre see Michel Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum* (Turnhout, 1981), especially 15, 19, 32-39, 44. See also Reinhold Kaiser, 'Die Gesta episcoporum als Genus der Geschichtsschreibung', in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. Anton Scharer und Georg Scheibelreiter (Vienna-Munich, 1994), 459-480. See also Dirk Schlochtermeyer, 'Heiligenviten als Exponenten eines "zeitlosen" Geschichtsbewußtseins?', in *Hochmittelalterliches Geschichtsbewußtsein im Spiegel nichthistoriographischer Quellen*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz (Berlin, 1998), 161-177.

[91] On this point see also Hans-Werner Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2008), 285-286.

[92] Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan, ed. Timothy Reuter (New York, 2002), 3-5; *Adam von Bremen, Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte (Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum)*, ed. B. Schmeidler MGH Script. rer. Germ., 2, (1917), 1-3.

[93] *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, MGH SS 23, 78; *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, MGH SS 14, 376.

[94] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters*, 181-182.

[95] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein*, 295-296.

[96] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters*, 175, 178-80.

[97] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein*, 121; Weinfurter, *The Salian Century*, 63-68.

future readers to imitate episcopal conduct, the aims of the *gesta* are difficult to separate from those of the *vitae*.

Manuscripts and later use

The patterns of manuscript survival, and of evidence for the later use made of these different genres are also similar. Haarländer noted how the German *vitae* tend to survive in very few manuscripts.[98] A full study of the reception of these texts remains highly desirable. What follows constitutes only a brief survey, drawing on modern editions, with the evidence for England especially distinct. The general pattern is clear, however: the *vitae* and *gesta* were all written for monasteries and cathedral chapters connected to the bishop in question and were largely disseminated and used in that geographical area. Indeed, the author of the *Vita Bennonis* suggested that his work was not for outsiders, 'rather it is enough for us when it is read by the brothers of this monastery'.[99] Rodney Thomson similarly suggested that William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* was aimed at an exclusively monastic audience.[100] Schlochtermeyer noted that the *gesta episcoporum* also tend to survive in one to three copies, and are only rarely found outside the diocese in which they were written. Both they and the *vitae* had a primarily local circulation.[101] The following table, with figures from only a sample of the *vitae* and *gesta,* illustrates this general tendency, but also highlights some more popular exceptions:

Name of *vita/gesta*	**Number of surviving manuscript copies**
William of Malmesbury *Gesta Pontificum*	21[102]
Adam of Bremen's *Gesta*	20+ [103]

[98] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 19-20.
[99] *Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts*, trans. H. Kallfelz ed. Bresslau (Darmstadt, 1973), 378. No manuscripts of Benno's work are known to have been used outside Osnabrück.
[100] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum,* 1: xlv-xlvi.
[101] For examples of this local reception, Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, xviii-xix; On the dissemination of the *Vita Lietberti* and Cambrai *Gesta,* see John S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community in North-Western Europe, c.1050-1150* (New York, 2015), 201-202; Theo Riches, 'The Function of the Gesta Episcoporum as Archive. Some Reflections on the Codex sancti Gisleni (MS Den Haag KB 75 F 15)', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 10 (2007), 7-46, at 37; On the Eadmer, Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer,* 229 and on the *Vita Gundulfi* see *The Life of Gundulf Bishop of Rochester,* ed. Rodney Thomson (Toronto, 1977), 10. There were exceptions: FitzStephen's biography of Becket made it as far as the Cistercian monastery of Salem in Germany. See Anne Duggan, 'The Salem FitzStephen: Heidelberg Universitäts-Bibliothek Cod. Salem ix.30', in *Mediaevalia Christiana, XIe–XIIIe siècles: hommage à Raymonde Foreville*, ed. C. E. Viola (Paris and Tournai, 1989), 51–86.
[102] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum,* 2: xlvi-liii.
[103] Kaiser, 'Die Gesta episcoporum', 472.

Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*	19[104]
Magdeburg *Gesta*	12[105]
Cambrai *Gesta*	10+ [106]
Osbern's *Vita Dunstani*	At least 9 copies or fragments from the twelfth century as well as four from the thirteenth[107]
Eadmer's *Vita S. Odonis*	8[108]
Eadmer's *Vita et Miracula S. Dunstani*	8[109]
Eadmer's *Vita Wilfridi*	6[110]
Hildesheim *Chronicon*	4[111]
Eadmer's *Vita et Miracula S. Oswaldi*	3[112]
Vita Lietberti	3[113]
Vita Meinwerci	3[114]
Vita Ottonis I	3[115]
Gesta Alberonis	2[116]
Vita Chunradi	2[117]
Vita Norberti A	1 complete copy, 1 fragment[118]
Vita Gundulfi	1[119]
Halberstadt *Gesta*	1[120]

[104] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, ix-xxxiv.
[105] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, MGH SS 14, 370-374.
[106] Kaiser, 'Die Gesta episcoporum', 472-473.
[107] William Stubbs, *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1874), xxxii, xliii-xlviii.
[108] Eadmer of Canterbury, *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J Turner (Oxford, 2006), xliv-liii.
[109] Eadmer, *Lives*, lxxvii-lxxxvii.
[110] Eadmer of Canterbury, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J. Turner (Exeter, 1998), lxii-lxviii.
[111] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters*, 127.
[112] Eadmer, *Lives*, cxvi.
[113] Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community*, 201.
[114] *Vita Meinwerci episcopi Patherbrunnensis. Das Leben Bischof Meinwerks von Paderborn*, ed. and trans. Guido M. Berndt (Munich, 2009), 30.
[115] *Noble Society: Five Lives from Twelfth-Century Germany*, trans. Jonathan R. Lyon (Manchester, 2017), 97.
[116] Balderich of Trier, *A Warrior Bishop of the Twelfth Century: The Deeds of Albero of Trier*, trans. Brian A. Pavlac (Toronto, 2008), 21-22.
[117] https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_02623.html accessed 14/09/2018.
[118] *Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe*, 449. The *Vita Norberti A* was only discovered in 1853 in a fourteenth-century manuscript. We know that at least one other copy existed only through a fragment discovered in 1972 (which also dates from the fourteenth-century).
[119] *The Life of Gundulf*, 2.
[120] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters*, 83.

John of Salisbury's *Vita Anselmi*	1[121]
William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani*	1[122]
William of Malmesbury's *Vita Dunstani*	1[123]
Gerald's *Vita Hugonis*	1[124]
Anonymous I	1[125]
Anonymous II	1[126]

While the poor manuscript traditions of these texts has often been stressed, the numbers here do not, in fact, differ greatly from sources which have received far greater scholarly attention. Otto of Freising's *Chronica* survives in 38 copies, for example, but his well-studied *Gesta Friderici* in only 14. William of Malmesbury's most famous work, his *Gesta Regum,* survives in only a few more copies (25) than his *Gesta Pontificum*, and his *Historia Novella* in only one.[127] As Nicholas Vincent has pointed out, Walter Map's *De Nugis*, Gerald's *De Principis Instructione*, the *History of William the Marshal*, and Stephen of Rouen's *Draco Normannicus* all survive in a single manuscript each, while Jordan Fantosme's verse chronicle and Roger of Howden's *Gesta Henrici Secundi* are extant in only two.[128]

In addition, we should not judge the reception of these texts by their manuscript tradition alone. The evidence of later use, especially in England, is considerable. It is clear that other authors, including those beyond the work's initial audience, knew of these works and where to find them. They were also regarded as worth replacing: the Dunstan *vitae,* John of Salisbury's new version of Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi,* and the multiple biographies of Heribert of Cologne (r. 999-1021) and Otto of Bamberg (r. 1102/1106-1109) , were, in this sense, a back-handed compliment to their predecessors and were themselves an illustration that authors felt contemporary demand had not been exhausted. Osbern's *Vita Dunstani* remained the most popular of the various versions available, for example, that Eadmer and

[121] John of Salisbury, *Lives*, 11-12.
[122] In a single fourteenth-century copy from Cistercian scriptorium, William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Live*s, xxv.
[123] In a late fifteenth or early-sixteenth century manuscript, William of Malmesbury, *Saints Lives*, xxvi.
[124] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln,* l.
[125] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 35.
[126] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 39-40.
[127] As Staunton points out, Gerald of Wales' *Topographia Hiberniae* survives in 32 'apparently making it about as popular as all the contemporary histories of Angevin England put together'. For the figures quoted above see Michael Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford, 2017), 22.
[128] Vincent, 'Missing Biographies', 251.

William of Malmesbury both felt worth attacking. Authors were very much aware that they had competition: John of Salisbury and Adam of Eynsham both pointed out that other biographies of Becket and Hugh of Lincoln were available.[129] That awareness occasionally extended to more direct connections between these authors. It has been suggested that William of Malmesbury, for example, was Eadmer's student and that there was a network of historical and hagiographical writing between Canterbury, Malmesbury, and the abbey of Bec in Normandy.[130] Such connections were no doubt made in the course of the research conducted by authors such as Eadmer and William. The former, for example, questioned Nicholas, a monk at Worcester, regarding the political affairs of archbishop Dunstan's day.[131] The *vitae* could thus be the product of detailed research drawing on more than one religious community.[132] The extent of Malmesbury's investigations was extraordinary, by any standard, but nonetheless was a testament both to the contacts between religious communities in the English kingdom, and perhaps also to the relative ease of travel (especially when compared to Germany).[133] Such links help explain the wider diffusion of these works, across multiple religious communities, where they were excerpted, recycled, used to celebrate the memory of the saint and bishop in question, or as the foundation of new historical and hagiographical works.[134]

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[129] John of Salisbury, *Lives*, 74; *MTB* 2: 301-302; Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 3 'It must be common knowledge that not one but several of his more learned disciples have not only attempted, but successfully achieved this [i.e. write Hugh's biography]'.

[130] Sally Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm 1093-1109: Bec, Missionary, Canterbury Primate, Patriarch of another World* (Farnham, 2012), 18-22; Rodney Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 2nd edn. (Woodbridge, 2003), 5. As Vaughn pointed out, other sources indicate that monks were sent to abbeys, other than their own, to study with recognised teachers. This had been the case with Wulfstan of Worcester, before he became a monk, and with Prior Nicholas of Worcester. See also

[131] Eadmer, *Lives*, lxxii.

[132] On the research conducted by the Becket biographers, including archival and 'interviews', see Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 16; See also Martin Brett, 'John of Worcester and His Contemporaries', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard Southern*, ed. John Wallace-Hadrill and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1981), 101-126.

[133] William's travels took him to Canterbury, Glastonbury, Worcester Oxford, Thorney, St Ives, Bury St Edmunds, Rochester, Sherborne, Crowland, Hereford, York, Carlisle, Shaftesbury, Bath, Wareham, Corfe, Gloucester, Bangor, Coventry, Winchester, Milton Abbas, and perhaps Tavistock. These journeys stood alongside his friendship and connections with Eadmer and Alexander (monks of Canterbury and friends of Anselm), as well as John of Worcester, Nicholas, prior of Worcester, Walcher, prior of Malvern, Faricius, abbot of Abingdon (former monk of Malmesbury and himself a biographer of St Aldhelm) and (possibly) Orderic Vitalis. See Rodney Thomson, 'Malmesbury, William of (b. c. 1090, d. in or after 1142), historian, man of letters, and Benedictine monk', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29461 accessed 14/09/2018.

[134] Eadmer's biography of Wilfrid, for example, enjoyed a wide circulation in twelfth-century England and was used by Richard of Hexham and the authors of the *Liber Eliensis* and the annals of Waverley. William of Malmesbury drew on Eadmer's *vitae* of Oda, Wilfrid, and Oswald for his own *Gesta Pontificum* and *Vita Dunstani* (but tried to pretend that Eadmer's version did not exist). As we have seen excerpts from Eadmer's *Vita S. Odonis* and *Vita S. Oswaldi* were used as part of celebrations for the saints' feasts. These works

The question of whether these texts had a more widespread or lay audience is far more difficult to judge.[135] Nicholas Vincent, for example, has warned against writing Plantagenet history 'as if all the actors were thoroughly conversant with the theories of John of Salisbury on tyranny... in reality, such ideas were restricted to a tiny minority even of the minority of the elite who regularly attended court'. Gerald of Wales, as Vincent pointed out, seems to have known little of John's work.[136] Even William of Malmesbury, now vaunted as the most well-read scholar of high medieval Christendom, was mentioned only once by someone outside his abbey, and then in praise of his devotional works.[137] We must be wary of exaggerating the reception of our texts beyond the contemporary evidence.[138] That said, it is

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continued to be used across the twelfth century. Gervase of Canterbury used excerpts of Eadmer's *Vita S. Odonis, Vita Anselmi, Historia Novorum*, and *Vita S. Bregowini* as well as Osbern's 's *Vita Dunstani*. Eadmer's own *Vita Dunstani* was, in turn, included in a biography of the archbishop written in late twelfth-century Worcester and interpolated with a copy of Osbern's version, written at Christ Church in the late eleventh or early twelfth-century and later owned by Winchester cathedral priory. The work also used further by later authors, including Helinand of Froidmont and Vincent of Beauvais. Eadmer's *Vita S. Oswaldi* was also made good use of by Senatus of Worcester in the second half of the twelfth century. The author of the *Vita Gundulfi* also had access to Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* which enjoyed a local circulation. The biography of Gundulf itself was later used, at Rochester, in a local chronicle of the acts of the bishops of Rochester written around 1216. In the Empire, the *Vita Norberti A* was used by a twelfth-century annalist at Iburg and the *Gesta Alberonis* by a continuator of the *Gesta Trevoroum*. Abridgements of William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani* were made at Worcester (by Prior Senatus) and survived at Durham Cathedral Priory, the Cluniac abbey at Reading (or its cell at Leominister), the Hampshire nunnery at Romsey, with a metrical life of the bishop, composed by the poet of Henry of Avranches, drawing on them in the thirteenth century. William FitzStephen knew too where to find a copy of Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* for his biography of Becket. Most impressively, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* was known to have been copied at the Benedictine priory of Belvoir, St Albans abbey, the Cistercian house of Byland, at cathedrals of York, Lichfield, possibly Norwich, as well as St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, Rochester Cathedral Priory, Worcester Cathedral Priory, and known by Symeon of Durham, John of Worcester, and later, Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Newburgh, the author of the *Liber Eliensis*, Wace, Ralph of Diss, and Matthew Paris. In short, while the circulation of these works was often confined to the local area, even the fragmentary evidence we have illustrates that they continued to be utilised by religious communities. They constitute important evidence of the evolving historical memories of these communities in that regard. See Eadmer, *Life of St Wilfrid*, xxvi; Eadmer, *Lives*, lvi-lviii, lxxxix, xci-xciv, cxxii-cxxvi; *Life of Gundulf*, 2-3; *Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe*, 368, 548; Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 60; William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, xxv; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 2: xlvi-liii.

[135] Theo Riches has argued that the authors of the *gesta episcoporum* in particular fully recognised the vagaries of manuscript transmission and structured their work accordingly, achieving their aims through multiple anecdotes and episodes in a manner that made the survival of an entire copy unnecessary. Theo Riches, 'Episcopal Historiography as Archive', *Jaarboek voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis* 10 (2007), 7-46. The episodic nature of the *vitae*, as much as the *gesta*, is also worth bearing in mind. Roger Ray pointed out much earlier that medieval historiography in general often appears as 'structural hodgepodges of fairly short episodes', but were well-suited to the 'refectory where monks liked their condiments of spiritual reading quick to the moral taste' in the tradition of liturgical *lectiones* and the stories found in the Gospel. Roger D. Ray, 'Medieval Historiography through the Twelfth Century: Problems and Progress of Research', *Viator* 5:1 (1974), 33-60, at 41.

[136] Vincent, 'Missing Biographies', 251.

[137] Thomson, 'Malmesbury, William of'.

[138] For example, see Paul A. Hayward, 'The Importance of Being Ambiguous: Innuendo and Legerdemain in William of Malmesbury's Gesta regum and Gesta pontificum Anglorum', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 33 (2011), 75-102 who laid out an impressive case for how William, in the *Gesta Pontificum*, found new, and more ingenious, ways to criticise the mismanagement, by the secular and ecclesiastical elite, of material resources including of

interesting to note that we have several examples of texts being edited, either by the author or by later redactors, specifically to tone down the criticisms made of kings. The reasons for such modifications are frustratingly unclear. The first version of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* was edited by William himself to tone down passages condemning both kings and prelates.[139] One particularly absurd example led Thomson to suggest the changes must have been made under duress.[140] William FitzStephen also criticised Henry II (r. 1154-1189) in a passage removed by a later copyist.[141] The *vitae* and *gesta* may have had a more significant and widespread audience in this regard. At least some contemporaries were wary about the potential audience, in particular for condemnations of kings.

We are on far firmer ground when concluding that the audience for these works could be significant in nature if not in number. We have already noted that many of the *gesta* were commissioned by the bishops personally. We also have hints in the *vitae* themselves of an episcopal audience. At Worcester, Peter Jackson has suggested Wulfstan himself was involved in encouraging the collection, copying, and translation of the *vitae*.[142] Wulfstan was said to have had them read to him as he slept.[143] While hardly a ringing endorsement of their influence, on other occasions the bishop summoned aid from Oswald and Dunstan in court and claimed to have read their *vitae* to imitate their behaviour.[144] Becket himself commissioned John of Salisbury to write the *Vita Anselmi* and, at the Council of Tours (1163), had presented it to Pope Alexander III (r. 1159-1181) in an attempt to revive the archbishop's memory and have him canonised. Though the work survives in only one manuscript, and was not mentioned elsewhere by John or indeed by any contemporary, it is thus still of great significance: Becket's quarrel with the king began in earnest on his return from Tours, with John's praise for archiepiscopal resistance to royal tyranny perhaps still fresh in his mind.[145]

Malmesbury abbey. How far any of that elite knew, understood, or cared about William's criticisms is far less clear.

[139] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 2: xxiv.

[140] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 2: xxv.

[141] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 138.

[142] Peter Jackson, 'The Vitas Patrum in Eleventh-Century Worcester', in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Carola Hicks (1992), 119-134, at 122-128.

[143] Andy Orchard, 'Parallel lives: Wulfstan, William, Coleman, and Christ', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed, Julia Barrow and Nicholas Brooks (Aldershot, 2005), 39-57, at 48; William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, in *Saints' Lives. Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 116-117.

[144] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstan*i, 62-64.

[145] John of Salisbury, *Lives*, vii-viii.

Hagiography, *vitae*, and *gesta episcoporum*

Having surveyed the purposes, manuscript traditions, and reception of hagiography, episcopal *vitae,* and *gesta episcoporum,* we are now in a better position to judge the significance of the differences between them regarding our purposes in this study. The geographical distribution of the *gesta* is certainly intriguing. Rosamund McKitterick suggested that the survival of *gesta episcoporum* in Germany, but not in England, Spain, northern Italy, or southern France, may reflect a different ideal of episcopal office. This suggestion does not appear to have been explored in any depth.[146] Several historians have also proposed a distinction between episcopal biographies and other forms of historical and hagiographical writing. Friedrich Lotter distinguished between hagiography on the one hand and rhetorical and idealised biographies on the other.[147] The *Vita Bennonis* provides a rare example of a contemporary marking a distinction, the author admitting that

> 'we cannot, like those who have described the death of martyrs or the lives of saints, tell of miraculous signs and extraordinary virtues'.

At the same time, however, the author (likely Norbert of Iburg) explained that he wished to 'tell the reader some deeds that ought to be worthy of imitation all those who seek a virtuous way of life', in terms identical to those used in saints' lives and *gesta* discussed above.[148] Timothy Reuter also pointed out that the authors of the episcopal *vitae,* which he characterised as a form of secular biography, were keen to demonstrate not the subject's sanctity, but his devotion to the diocese.[149] Stephen Jaeger has perhaps gone furthest in describing such a divide, arguing that saints' lives were populist works for the masses, blending together miracle accounts with oral traditions, while the episcopal *vitae* were aimed at the nobility, a form of 'secularised biography' in the tradition of classical rhetoric and historiography.[150]

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[146] Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Church', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History vol 3: 900-1024,* ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge 1999), 130-162, at 147.
[147] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 3; Friedrich Lotter, 'Methodisches zur Gewinnung historischer Erkenntnisse aus hagiographischen Quellen', *Historische Zeitschrift* 229 (1979), 298-356.
[148] *Vita Bennonis in Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts,* trans. H. Kallfelz ed. Bresslau (Darmstadt, 1973), 372-375. 'Quamvis enim more eorum, qui agones martyrum seu vitas scripsere sanctorum, miraculorum signa et virtutum insignia de eo referre non possimus, pleraque tamen bene vivere studentibus imitanda eius facta dicemus, quae suo ordine et loco, prout memoriae occurrerint, plenius inserenda ponentur'.
[149] Reuter, 'Past, Present and no Future in the twelfth-century Regnum Teutonicum', 27.
[150] Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness* (Philadelphia, 1985), 25-27.

Such distinctions often break down in practice. Jaeger included in his analysis the *vitae* of Otto of Bamberg and Thomas Becket, none of which can be described as 'secularised biographies' in any meaningful sense. Hans-Werner Goetz argued that the *Vita Bennonis* was an episcopal biography, but admitted it had hagiographical elements.[151] The *Vita Meinwerci*, as many have pointed out, defies modern categories of genre: it exhibits hagiographical characteristics as well as those of an episcopal *gesta*, a cartulary, and a monastic foundation narrative.[152] One of the most important sources for this study, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum,* straddled all three genres. The first four books were organised both by bishopric and by the old Anglo-Saxon kingdoms while the fifth provided a *vita* of Aldhelm (*c*. 639-709), the founder of Malmesbury abbey. Even in this respect, however, we find a habit, among the authors of the *gesta episcoporum*, of devoting entire books within their chronicles to the most recent bishop.[153] Although the *Gesta Pontificum* resembles a set of diocesan histories, William combined this approach with his own research collecting, presenting, and rewriting dozens of *vitae.*[154] William had created a unique work and he knew it:

> 'I shall, it seems to me, have put the last touches to something not essayed by anyone before'.[155]

As Thomson pointed out, the *Gesta Pontificum* had no parallel in the Latin West nor would it for some time: there was no precedent for collecting together lives of the bishops and saints of a single nation.[156] Thomson argued that William produced it out of a desire to show how the religious communities of the realm were connected together, a testament to the cohesion of the English kingdom and Church.[157] The uniqueness of William's work itself raises the

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[151] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein,* 339.
[152] Reuter, 'Past, Present and no Future in the twelfth-century Regnum Teutonicum', 27-28; *Vita Meinwerci*, 9, 22, 25-26; Gerd Althoff suggested that the work was an 'instrument for the defence of ownership through a combination of the tradition book and historiography'. Gerd Althoff, 'Causa scribendi und Darstellungsabsicht. Die Lebenbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde und andere Beispiele', in *Litterae medii aevi,* ed. Michael Borgolte and Herrad Spilling (Sigmaringen, 1988), 117-133, at 133. The diocese of Paderborn, experiencing a revival under Bishop Bernhard I (r. 1117-1160) and Evergis (r. 1160-1178), who were attempting to consolidating the territorial holdings and perhaps regarded Meinwerk as a model, and the *Vita Meinwerci* a literary testament or equivalent to their attempts to increase the diocese's prestige and that of Abingdof monastery where the text was produced.
[153] The *gesta* pay particular attention to the bishop of their own day: the third book of the Cambrai *Gesta* is devoted to Bishop Gerard while Adam of Bremen used one of the four books of the Hamburg *Gesta* to describe Adalbert.
[154] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 2: xxix-xxxii. This focus on English saints, rather than bishops, led Thomson to conclude that William's title was ill-chosen, and designed as a counterpart to the *Gesta Regum.* Nonetheless William clearly intended this title to be used and the text is structured by the bishoprics.
[155] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 2-3.
[156] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 2: xxxii.
[157] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 2: xxxii-xxii.

question of whether a similar work would have been possible, or even conceivable, in the German kingdom. In this discussion, it also provides an especially vivid example of the constraints imposed by modern genre distinctions. Goetz and Schlochtermeyer have also pointed to how the *vitae*, *gesta*, and *miracula* drew upon one another, while Theo Riches and Jonathon Lyon have noted that contemporaries did not distinguish between *gesta* and *historia*.[158] Felice Lifshitz's argument, that modern attempts to isolate historical and hagiographical genres can often prove anachronistic or trivial, thus also applies here.[159] While recognising the subtle differences between these texts, it far more significant for our purposes that they share fundamental similarities in terms of their context of production, purpose, audience and reception. They thus form a suitable basis for comparison. But we can also go further: the particular circumstances in which these texts were produced make them a uniquely valuable source for the historian of high medieval political expectations.

The proximity of these authors to bishops renders them a particularly important means for highlighting expectations of episcopal behaviour, including in relation to kings. Michel Sot noted that the *gesta episcoporum* were often commissioned by bishops and that the authors were sufficiently close to their prelates to be regarded as partaking of an episcopal mentality and milieu.[160] Richard Southern saw Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* as a ground-breaking work of 'intimate biography'.[161] Eadmer's twelfth-century readers offered not dissimilar praise; William of Malmesbury felt that Eadmer's testimony was so intimate that he claimed the *Life* 'expounds everything so clearly that all seems to happen before our very eyes'.[162] According to William, Anselm could not even turn over in his bed without Eadmer's approval. Pope Urban II, William explained, had indeed placed Eadmer in command of the archbishop's personal routine at the prelate's own suggestion.[163] His self-proclaimed familiarity with Anselm was no exaggeration. He had been the archbishop's constant companion since 1093, witnessed his disputes with kings (discussed further below), and

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[158] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein,* 302-304. Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters,* 183; Riches, 'The Function of the Gesta Episcoporum as Archive', 158-161; Jonathon Lyon, *Noble Society,* 2-3.
[159] Felice Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', *Viator* 25, (1994), 95–113; See also, on the *vitae* as 'biography', Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter 1: Von der Passio Perpetuae zu den Dialogi Gregors des Großen* (Stuttgart, 1986), 17-19.
[160] Sot, *Gesta episcoporum,* 21-22, 55-56; Anselm, while abbot of Bec, had first learnt of a *Life* of Dunstan from Osbern and asked him to make a copy. Archbishop Lanfranc had later commissioned Osbern to write an account of his predecessor St Ælfheah. Also note the various dedicatees and patrons listed in Appendix A and B.
[161] Southern, *St Anselm and His Biographer*, 218-219, 314-346.
[162] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum,* 1: 74.
[163] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum,* 1: 65.

accompanied him during two exiles abroad. That the quality of Eadmer's portrayal, in both his *Historia Novorum* and his *Vita Anselmi*, noticeably declines after 1100, when Anselm discovered and disapproved of his work, may reflect just how crucial that now lost familiarity had once been. As Southern and Staunton both pointed out, the *vitae* produced of Anselm, and then later of Becket and Hugh of Lincoln, offer 'a fuller portrayal of individual character, more detailed and vivid observation of events than found in many earlier works of hagiography'.[164] Decades later, John of Salisbury praised Eadmer for writing a biography,

> 'very truthfully published in a elaborate style about his life and manner of living [Anselm's], as being a religious man who had been a very close familiar of his'

John perhaps implied here that recording the deeds of one's episcopal master was a task expected of a close intimate.[165] William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani,* for example, was based on the earlier Old English *Life* by the monk Coleman, who had been Wulfstan's chancellor and confidant for the last fifteen years of his life. The prologue to the *Vita Gundulfi* stated that all the information contained in the work came from the author's observations of the bishop while living with him, or from those who knew him equally well.[166] Adam of Eynsham similarly insisted that he would only report the words or deeds of Hugh of Lincoln when he had seen or heard them himself, or when they were reported by those of 'unimpeachable authority'.[167] Adam even claimed to have stayed with Hugh every night, bar one, during all the years in which he had served him. This enabled him, in the view of Henry Mayr-Harting and his most recent editors, to write 'one of the fullest and most trustworthy saints' lives of the entire Middle Ages'.[168] The familiarity enjoyed by some of Becket's biographers is also well-known. William FitzStephen had been Becket's chaplain, a member of his household, an official in his chancery, a sub-deacon in his chapel, and Becket's advocate in court, present with his master at Northampton.[169] The information provided by FitzStephen on the trial, and especially for Becket's period as royal chancellor,

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[164] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 15.
[165] John of Salisbury, *Vita Anselmi,* 1009 'luculento stylo veracissime edidit; utpote vir religiosus, qui ei familiaris admodum fuerat'; John of Salisbury, *Lives*, 18. Although the same was hardly true of biographies written of prelates who were long deceased, monks such as Osbern of Canterbury, who had witnessed Dunstan perform miracles as a child and whose aid had helped him win a legal battle, perhaps felt their own sense of familiarity
[166] *Life of Gundulf,* 25.
[167] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 1: 90.
[168] Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Hugh of Lincoln (1140?–1200)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101014060/Hugh-of-Lincoln accessed 25/09/2017; The editors of Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 1: vii claimed that Adam wrote so accurately that no one of his age can be better-known to a modern audience than Hugh of Lincoln.
[169] *MTB* 3: 1-2.

indicates that these were not idle boasts. Herbert of Bosham claimed to have been on more intimate terms with the archbishop than any other biographer: he stood alongside Becket throughout his dispute with the king and was only absent for the martyrdom, to his own eternal regret.[170] While Herbert inevitably stressed his personal role in these events, he had some justification for claiming to record 'not just the archbishop's deeds, but the reasons for them, not just what was done, but the mind of the doer'.[171]

The intimate biographies created by these authors were certainly not an English peculiarity. Indeed, the *Vita Bennonis* has been praised in almost exactly the same terms as Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* and yet the two works, and, in fact, the two traditions of biographical writing in England and Germany, have rarely ever been compared. Indeed, one editor of the *Vita Bennonis* has characterised it as one of the most precious, vivid, and objective biographies produced in the Middle Ages.[172] Neither the *Magna Vita* nor the *Vita Bennonis* were perhaps as unique in this regard as their modern editors have supposed. In fact, just as Adam of Eynsham remained by Hugh of Lincoln's side for the last three and a half years of his life, so too had Norbert, the likely author of the *Vita Bennonis*, been appointed abbot of Iburg four years before Benno's death, a period in which the bishop saw out his days in the abbot's presence. Schlochtermeyer has also pointed out that the *gesta episcoporum* were often written by a canon with a particularly close links to the incumbent or recently deceased bishop: in Eichstätt, the author of the *Gesta* was the bishop's chaplain, at Metz his kinsman, and at Magdeburg his chancellor.[173] The first author of the Cambrai *gesta* stressed that his information came directly from Bishop Gerard I (r. 1012-1051), who had commissioned the work.[174] Raoul, the author of a *vita* of Lietbert of Cambrai (r. 1051-1076), had joined the prelate on the 'central event of the bishop's life', his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[175] The author of the 'A' version of the *Vita Norberti* also joined his archbishop, Norbert of Magdeburg (r. 1126-1134), on an imperial expedition to Rome in 1132-1133, an event then vividly described in the biography.[176] The author of the *Vita* of Conrad of Salzburg (r. 1106-1147)

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[170] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 4-5.
[171] *MTB* 3: 248; For the English translation of this passage, Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 4-5.
[172] *Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe,* 365-367 for further references to the *vita* as a 'biographical masterpiece'. See, in the same context, Edgar Johnson, 'Bishop Benno II of Osnabrück', *Speculum* 16 (1941), 389-403.
[173] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters,* 179.
[174] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai: Translation and Commentary*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach, David S. Bachrach, and Michael Leese (New York, 2018), 5.
[175] Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community*, 201.
[176] Wilfried Marcel Grauwen, 'Inleiding op de Vita A van de H. Norbertus', *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 60 (1984). 5-48, at 5-9.

was sufficiently trusted by the bishop to lead an embassy to the king of Hungary on his behalf.[177] It has even been suggested that the author of the *Vita Arnoldi* was so familiar with the details of the archbishop of Mainz's regalia that he must have been responsible, as his chaplain, for getting the prelate dressed. Such individuals certainly had a good claim to be part of an episcopal milieu.[178]

While the *vitae* and *gesta* are thus valuable sources for the ideals and expectations they present of episcopal conduct, their familiarity with kings, and the royal court, was more limited. Given their proximity to the bishops they described, it is easy to imagine that their episcopal masters must have passed on, perhaps rather boastful, accounts of their interactions with the king on their return to the diocese. We have occasional glimpses, however, of royal interactions with the authors themselves. These are not always especially detailed. William of Malmesbury represented his abbey at councils at Winchester in 1139 and 1141 and may have been among the monks sent to the king, petitioning him to choose a new abbot. William had already sent copies of the *Gesta Pontificum*'s companion volume, the *Gesta Regum*, to Empress Matilda, to David, king of Scots, and had dedicated the work to Robert, earl of Gloucester, the bastard son of Henry I. William explained to them that it had been Queen Matilda's interest in Aldhelm, her putative ancestor, that had compelled him to begin his work in the first place. Thomson suggested that the *Gesta Pontificum* was itself thus part of an attempt to gain royal favour. Intriguingly, William had access to Henry I's (r. 1100-1135) private zoo at Woodstock, suggesting that he may have known the king (though he did not acknowledge any connection directly, a reflection, perhaps, of his general reluctance to comment on living contemporaries).[179] Some royal interactions may also be suspected in the case of Adam of Eynsham. His abbey was an important stop for travellers heading west and was sometimes used by kings as a venue for episcopal elections while staying at Woodstock. During a dispute between Hugh of Lincoln and Richard I (r. 1189-1199), over their respective rights to the abbey, it appears to have been Adam who compiled the dossier of evidence used by the bishop. Like Eadmer and Becket's biographers, Adam may have felt that he was on the

[177] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 82.
[178] *Vita Arnoldi archiepiscopi Moguntinensis: Die Lebensbeschreibung des mainzer Erzbischofs Arnold von Selenhofen: Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, ed. and trans. Stefan Burkhardt (Regensburg, 2014), 10-13.
[179] On all these connections, see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 2: xx-xxi; Thomson, 'Malmesbury, William of'.

receiving end of royal tyranny when forced to go abroad during the interdict under King John (1208-1213).[180]

Royal encounters could also be far more direct. Richard Southern noted that Eadmer's vivid accounts of the royal court should not blind us to the fact that he could not have heard the events that he described.[181] Yet Southern offered no grounds for this statement, and the latest editors of Eadmer's hagiographical works have concluded that, from February 1094, Eadmer was placed 'at almost the centre of ecclesiastical and political events in England', often accompanying the archbishop to the royal court.[182] While that does not mean we should take Eadmer's accounts at face value, nonetheless his reflections on the royal court are worth taking seriously. They were the product of direct experience, as well as more long-term reflection, and the incidental details they report regarding expectations of royal behaviour are all the more significant as a result.

In this respect, Eadmer's experience shares parallels with that of John of Salisbury, William FitzStephen, and Herbert of Bosham. John had himself served Henry II, obtaining for him a papal bull from Pope Adrian IV which authorised the conquest of Ireland.[183] John's more philosophical works - *Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum* (completed 1155) and his *Policraticus* (finished around 1159) – were dedicated to Becket during his chancellorship and criticised royal tyranny, officials, and the court. During the Becket dispute, John was on the receiving end of royal wrath, attended meetings with Henry on Becket's behalf, and sought his own reconciliation with the king. Yet it is John, the political theorist, that has been discussed far more than John the hagiographer, even though the norms and ideals highlighted by the former are given concrete form in the episodes recounted by the latter. Similarly,

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[180] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 1: ix; D. H. Farmer, 'Eynsham, Adam of', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-48313 accessed on 15/09/2018.

[181] Southern, *St Anselm and His Biographer,* 145. Southern argued instead that Eadmer was valuable because 'he seized on the important points and gave them prominence; if he simplified the story, he did so in a way which brought out an essential truth'.

[182] Eadmer, *Lives*, xvii points out that as soon as Eadmer became Anselm's companion, he accompanied the archbishop for a meeting at Hastings with William Rufus in February 1094 to discuss the flight of Matilda, daughter of the king of Scotland, from a convent at Wilton, an episode which may have influenced Eadmer's *Vita Dunstani*. Eadmer was also present at royal courts at Rockingham (1095), Windsor (1095 and 1097) and Winchester (1097) xvii. He also accompanied Anselm to royal court in 1101 and in Easter 1103, xx and both were guests of Henry I's sister, Adela, in May 1105. Xxi. Eadmer also journeyed to Henry I's court at Windsor (April 1114) where the election of a new archbishop was discussed and was with the king, and Ralph, at Rouen in 1117 xxiv-xxv.

[183] The details of that bull may explain why John fell from royal favour. See David Luscombe, 'Salisbury, John of', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14849 accessed 15/09/2018.

although Gerald's connections with kings and the royal court are well-known, it is rarely recalled that he wrote his *Vita Hugonis* around the same time as his manual on good governance, *De Principis Instructione*.[184] As noted by Weiler, the attention paid to abstract political tracts has obscured the extent to which similar thinking concerning royal power was shared by a far wider corpus of historical, and indeed hagiographical, material.

The value of William FitzStephen's biography of Becket also derives partly from his experience of the royal court. FitzStephen appears to have been closer to royal circles than the other biographers and may have been deliberately excluded from Herbert of Bosham's list of the *eruditi Sancti Thomae* for this reason.[185] During Becket's exile, FitzStephen provides an exceptional level of detail on the royal court. The biographer had made his own peace with the king while presenting Henry with a verse prayer that criticised his conduct.[186] FitzStephen attended the royal court thereafter and may have served the king as a sheriff and itinerant justice.[187] Herbert of Bosham's connections to Henry II were also extensive, though his attitude was more hostile. Herbert had served in the royal chapel and had been sent to Frederick Barbarossa to explain why Henry would not return the hand of St James.[188] During Becket's exile, Herbert had denounced royal customs, not only in England, but across France and Germany, and told the king to his face that he had been a fool to put them in writing. Henry took offence at Herbert's denial of Barbarossa's status as emperor and complained that 'this son of a priest can upset my kingdom and disturb my peace'. Herbert stunned his audience, both by correcting the king's claim, and by retorting that Henry himself was not the son of a king.[189] Unsurprisingly, Herbert was snubbed by the king thereafter.[190] Herbert took longer than most of Becket's followers to be reconciled to the king after the murder. Nonetheless, he recorded a warm interview with Henry in which the king admitted the murder had been committed on his behalf, but not through his intention. In response, Bosham described a vision he had experienced in which Becket had driven away a large flock of birds

[184] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln,* xviii.
[185] Anne Duggan, 'William fitz Stephen' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9643 accessed 15/09/2018.
[186] Duggan, 'William fitz Stephen'.
[187] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 57.
[188] Leyser, 'Frederick Barbarossa, Henry II, and the Hand of St James'; Duggan, 'William fitz Stephen'.
[189] *MTB* 3: 98-101; Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), 141 for the English translation;
[190] Duggan, 'William fitz Stephen'. Henry snubbed Herbert when the clerk visited him, along with John of Salisbury, to request the restoration of the exiles' property. At Fréteval, on 22 July 1170, Herbert, along with the rest of Becket's clerks, prostrated himself before the king when Becket's allies submitted.

that had been attacking the king.[191] The story provided an illustration of the extent to which the Angevin monarchy had already co-opted their greatest ecclesiastical opponent.[192] The hardened spiritual warrior Herbert paid tribute to the king, claiming his greatness had been impaired only by his feud with Becket.[193]

Even in England, these examples were the exception rather than the rule. The evidence for interactions with kings is far thinner for Germany, but not completely absent. The author of the Eichstätt *Chronicle* repeatedly referred to a source concerning Empress Agnes, and the incumbent bishop had indeed been her chaplain before his appointment.[194] Although the authorship of the Magdeburg *gesta* remains disputed, if, as has been suggested, the author was Arnold, abbot of Berge, then the work was written by someone who enjoyed close contacts with both the archbishops of Magdeburg and Lothar III.[195] The author of the *Life of Conrad of Salzburg* claimed to have witnessed Conrad III at a royal court in Salzburg.[196] While examples here are far fewer, the greater distances between the diocese and court in Germany must be borne in mind. Nonetheless, there was not perhaps as fundamental divide between the realms in this regard as one might think. Given the familiarity of both English and German biographers with their bishops, it would not have been unusual for them to have been among those who accompanied the prelate to court, or who at least were the first to hear of what transpired there on his return. The lack of evidence from Germany here may simply reflect the fact that we know far less about the German biographers in general: the anonymity of many of the German *vitae* contrasts with the wealth of information available for figures such as John of Salisbury and Gerald of Wales. We should recognise too that, perhaps even if the German biographers had possessed information on their own royal encounters, they may not always have considered it relevant or worthy of inclusion in an episcopal *vita* or *gesta*. While these possibilities should be borne in mind, the proximity of authors in both

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[191] Herbert of Bosham, *Liber Melorum*, ed. Migne PL 190, col. 1320-1321.
[192] On which see *The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet world, c.1170-c.1220*, ed. Paul Webster and Marie-Pierre Gelin (Woodbridge, 2016).
[193] Frank Barlow, 'Bosham, Herbert of', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13014, accessed 15/09/2018.
[194] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters*, 29.
[195] Compare Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters*, 103; https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_02464.html accessed 15/09/2018; Klaus Naß, *Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo und die sächsische Geschichtsscheibung im 12. Jahrhundert* (Hannover, 1996), 181-182, 373-375.
[196] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 63.

kingdoms to the bishops in question and, occasionally, the royal court too, make their testimony all the more valuable a source for ideals of royal and episcopal conduct.

3. Themes, approach, and structure

The representation of kingship in the twelfth century also merits discussion in the context of grand narratives of chronological change. The divide between early and high medievalists, as Reuter pointed out, has proved as important in determining the questions asked of the sources as different national scholarly traditions. Examining the representation of kingship in *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum* provides an opportunity to engage both with insights raised in relation to the early medieval Church, and, more importantly, with two often repeated assertions: the first that kingship was desacralised during the High Middle Ages and the second that demonstrative behaviour and ritual had declined even further in importance or relevance in England than in Germany.

As Reuter pointed out, comparisons between different parts of the Latin West have been far less common for the High Middle Ages. The increase in the volume and varieties of evidence, as well as the search for the origins of national exceptionalism, has meant that high medievalists have tended to retreat into a 'national Middle Ages' in which they are less likely to be aware of the peculiarities of their own area of expertise.[197] The divide between the Early and high Middle Ages has, at times, been portrayed in dramatic terms. Colin Morris suggested that the forces that arose in this period, though they shaped a new international culture, also 'were destroying older values inherited from the Carolingian past'. Karl Leyser similarly suggested that they aborted a common European culture discernible in the first half of the eleventh century.[198] Although Leyser at times stressed continuity with the early medieval period, he also provided the most explicit discussion of how the representation of twelfth century kingship differed from its early medieval forebears.[199] Leyser argued that

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[197] Reuter, 'Modern Mentalities and Medieval Polities', 5-9.

[198] Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), 4 citing Karl Leyser, 'The Ascent of Latin Europe', in *Communications and Power in the Middle Ages vol. 1: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1994), 215-232.

[199] Karl Leyser, *Medieval Germany*, xi suggested that high medieval realms grew in strength, resources, and became 'more purposeful' compared to their early medieval forbears. Here, Leyser also insisted that the 'twelfth century must nonetheless be understood as much for its continuities, the persistent strength of traditions and inherited attitudes, as for its modernities and innovations'. A rather different view, can be found in his earlier *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979), 1, which argued that the tenth century should feel stranger to the modern reader compared to the twelfth-century, by which point 'kings, clerks, and saints were beginning to have more in common with us, than their Carolingian and Ottonian predecessors'. Despite the general emphasis on transformation in his essay on kingship, Leyser also urged that historians of the twelfth century must not be seduced by 'the things we recognise and regard as germane and

kings were increasingly represented as individuals: observed behaviour and lived experience now mattered more than norms or categorial imperatives.[200] The Anglo-Norman and Sicilian realms proved especially fertile ground for 'incisive business-like comment on kings' because the institutions of royal government had eroded the distinction between the personal and abstract.[201] In Leyser's view, kings were now regarded through a 'human and observed reservoir of experience, rather than a calendar of virtues': kingship had become a profession, relieved of the 'ideological burden it had carried since the Early Middle Ages'.[202] That kings were now spoken of, 'with less regard for clerical proprieties', was due to the secularisation of royal office, the 'often desired and ominous outcome of the papal reform movement'. A newly educated clerical elite were keen 'to stamp on the dignity and pride of kings', though Leyser observed some geographical variation in this regard: compared to Germany in particular, 'Anglo-Normans seem to have been more bothered about their kings'.[203]

Leyser's argument reflected a broader narrative that royal office had been desacralised in the late eleventh century, either by the papal reform movement or a shift towards administrative kingship.[204] Elsewhere, Leyser argued that the recourse of Angevin kings to holy men, such as Hugh of Lincoln, was itself an attempt to acquire a now lost sacrality.[205] Geoffrey Koziol similarly concluded that 'something in the Anglo-Norman experience tended to desacralise political authority'.[206] Church reform, he suggested, had destabilised royal rites and legitimised resistance to unjust rulers, while the English kings had

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related to ourselves, i.e. individuality, sensibility, lyrical feelings, naturalness, and a more empirical approach to government' because early medieval traditions remained strong, albeit alongside a 'new capacity for abstraction and self-realisation'. See Karl Leyser, 'Some Reflections on Twelfth-century Kings and Kingship', in his *Medieval Germany and its neighbours, 900-1250* (London, 1982), 241-267, at 244 for the quotation.

[200] Leyser, 'Some Reflections on Twelfth-century Kings and Kingship', 247.

[201] Leyser, 'Some Reflections on Twelfth-century Kings and Kingship', 249.

[202] Leyser, 'Some Reflections on Twelfth-century Kings and Kingship', 250-252 with particular reference to Walter Map.

[203] Leyser, 'Some Reflections on Twelfth-century Kings and Kingship', 262-263, 266.

[204] On administrative kingship, see John Baldwin and Charles Warren-Hollister, 'The Rise of Administrative Kingship: Henry I and Philip Augustus', *The American History Review* 83 (1978), 867-905; *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Charles Warren-Hollister (Woodbridge, 1997); Richard Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), 30 for the argument that this period saw the end of government by ritual and the beginning of rule by administration.

[205] Karl Leyser, 'The Angevin Kings and the Holy man', in *Communication and Power in the Middle Ages vol. II: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1994), 157-175. Originally printed in *St Hugh of Lincoln: Lectures Delivered at Oxford and Lincoln to Celebrate the Eighth Centenary of St. Hugh's Consecration as Bishop of Lincoln* ed. Henry Mayr-Harting (Oxford, 1987), 48-73. For a reassessment of Leyser's argument, see Ryan Kemp, 'Hugh of Lincoln and Adam of Eynsham: Angevin Kingship Reconsidered' (in press with *Haskins Society Journal*).

[206] Geoffrey Koziol, 'England, France, and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual', in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), 124-148, at 144.

sacrificed sacrality in return for greater military and financial power.[207] In a narrative most associated with Ernst Kantorowicz, the High Middle Ages are regarded as witnessing a fundamental shift from Christ-centred to law-centred kingship.[208] This desacralisation has been of particular importance to historians of the Empire, with Henry IV's submission to Pope Gregory VII at Canossa in 1077 regarded as the crucial turning point. Indeed, Stefan Weinfurter subtitled his study of Canossa as 'the disenchantment of the world'.[209] Reuter claimed that the event brought to an end a concept of Christian rulership that had held sway since the days of Pippin III. The king was now a layman, subject to the guidance of a clergy who would assess his suitability to rule. After Canossa, 'Western European kingship needed to be reinvented, to be put on a new ideological, moral and juristic basis'.[210] With the Papacy having successfully dented their sacrality, English and German kings instead turned to more secular sources of legitimacy, including Roman law.[211] Marita Blattmann suggested that these same developments also ruptured the traditional connection, made by contemporary observers, between the king's individual qualities and the realm's prosperity: in her view 'kingship became earthly around the year 1200'.[212] As Johanna Dale has pointed out, however, the effect of Henry IV's humiliation at Canossa, on the sacrality of royal office, has often been taken for granted. Indeed, these narratives of change have recently faced significant challenges.[213] Dale has suggested, in particular, that more attention should be paid

[207] Koziol, 'England, France, and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual', 140, 144-145, 148. See too, in an assessment marked by some caution, John R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament 924–1327* (Oxford, 2010), 69-70 who writes that 'Perhaps the theocratic kingship which crown-wearing implied became harder to justify in the face of the post-Gregorian papacy's claim to spiritual supremacy and of Henry's parallel abandonment of lay investiture in 1106. Perhaps the elaboration of bureaucratic routine and the widening range of government made charisma less necessary. In an age of Pipe Rolls, and when royal rule could be enforced by Eyre and Exchequer, the king's transcendent status may have mattered less. Perhaps the debates and contentions attendant on crown-wearings, particularly those between rival end churchmen, made them seem too troublesome to be worthwhile. Perhaps the practice simply began to seem old-fashioned. But whatever may have lain behind this change it is hard to doubt that the ceremony meant less to Henry II than it had to William I'.

[208] Ernst H. Kantarowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

[209] Though he took the event as a symbol for a more widespread transformation, see Stefan Weinfurter, *Canossa: Die Entzauberung der Welt* (Munich, 2006); for a recent and comprehensive break-down of the historiography see Johanna Dale, 'Conceptions of kingship in high-medieval Germany in historiographical perspective', *History Compass* 16:6 (2018), 1-11.

[210] Timothy Reuter, 'Contextualising Canossa: Excommunication, Penance, Surrender, Reconciliation' in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 147-166, at 148.

[211] See the various references in Dale, 'Conceptions of kingship ', 4-5.

[212] Marita Blattmann, '"Ein Unglück für sein Volk". Der Zusammenhang zwischen Fehlverhalten des Königs und Volkswohl in Quellen des 7.-12. Jahrhunderts', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 30 (1996), 80-102.

[213] See especially Nicholas Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England 1154-1272', in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. C. Morris and P. Roberts (Cambridge, 2002) 12-45; Nicholas Vincent, 'Christ and the King: Plantagenet Devotion to Jesus Christ, 1150-1270', in *Cristo e il potere: teologia, antropologia e politica*, ed. Laura Andreani and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Firenze, 2017), 111-126; Johanna Dale, 'Royal Inauguration and the Liturgical Calendar in England, France and the Empire, c.1050-c.1250', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 37 (2015), 83-98; Dale, *Inauguration and Liturgical Kingship;* On

to the role played by prelates in the construction of royal sacrality. In addition, she argues that a pan-European approach not only better reflects the transmission of political and cultural ideas in the period itself, but also offers the opportunity to escape traditional historiographical narratives.[214] Exploring how the *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum* portrayed the English and German kings thus provides a particularly useful opportunity to examine whether religious communities thought their rulers had been desacralised and whether episcopal criticism was to blame.

At the same time, these sources provide a means to examine what Timothy Reuter called the 'meta-language' of medieval politics.[215] Gerd Althoff, Hagen Keller, and the 'Münster school' of medieval politics have pointed to the informal social ties, hierarchies, and practices, rather than formal institutions, which circumscribed royal power: the king's obligation to take counsel from his prelates was one such constraint.[216] As well as highlighting the importance of mediators and intercessors, especially in relation to angry kings, their research drew attention to the extent to which rulership was a matter of negotiation. Both Althoff, and in particular Knut Görich, have stressed the importance of honour, royal favour, and mutual respect in a political culture based on face-to-face interactions and where perceived slights, let alone outright criticisms, easily escalated into conflict.[217] Althoff's work also triggered an international debate regarding the role of ritual in medieval political culture, with Philippe Buc warning that the textual representation of such acts was often the product of specific authorial agendas.[218]

Such work, pioneered by early medievalists and historians working on Germany, has only belatedly had an impact on the study of high medieval England. Indeed, Althoff, and

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Germany, see especially Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: Zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin, 2009); Ludger Körntgen, 'Sakrales Königtum und Entsakralisierung in der Polemik um Heinrich IV' in *Heinrich IV*, ed. Gerd Althoff (Ostfildern, 2009), 127-160.

[214] Dale, 'Conceptions of kingship ', 6-7.

[215] Timothy Reuter, 'Velle sibi fieri in forma hac. Symbolic acts in the Becket dispute' in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 167-192; See also Weiler, 'Power and Politics', 484-486 on the importance and novelty of Reuter's contribution.

[216] A useful review of this scholarship is provided in Gerd Althoff, 'Das Hochmittelalterliche Königtum' *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 45 (2011), 77-98, especially 82-83, 94-97.

[217] See especially the essays collected in Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997); Bernd Schneidmüller, 'Konsensuale Herrschaft: ein Essay über Formen und Konzepte politischer Ordnung im Mittelalter', in *Reich, Regionen und Europa im Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Peter Moraw* (Berlin, 2000), 53-87; Knut Görich, *Die Ehre Friedrich Barbarossas: Kommunikation, Konflikt und politisches Handeln im 12. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 2001).

[218] Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001).

before him Karl Leyser, posited a connection between ritual, demonstrative behaviour, and sacrality that, at first sight, might suggest Althoff's approach was less applicable to a polity, such as England, where the practice of kingship was underpinned by an increasingly sophisticated administrative apparatus. Karl Leyser suggested that the relative stability of Ottonian Germany had depended on unwritten rules and norms of political behaviour, rather than institutional procedures.[219] Althoff, developing his ideas in relation to Germany, similarly stressed the importance of ritual and symbolic behaviour in the absence of the state or state-like institutions: ritual has thus often been viewed as an alternative to government by the written word.[220] This dichotomy, between symbolic and administrative practice, has been increasingly challenged by those who have applied Althoff's models to Anglo-Saxon England, such as Julia Barrow, Levi Roach, and Charles Insley.[221] Timothy Reuter similarly demonstrated, in his analysis of Frederick Barbarossa's reign, that the use of administrative techniques complemented, rather than superseded, the role of honour, compromise, and negotiation in the practice of kingship.[222] More strikingly, Reuter, through an analysis of the conflict between Henry II and Becket, demonstrated the lack of attention historians of high medieval England have paid to honour or the demonstrative behaviour that characterised royal assemblies.[223] As Geoffrey Koziol remarked, the real business of English kingship has more often been seen as 'feudal levies, financial exactions, judicial reform, not pontifical kings in the tradition of Old Testament kingship'.[224] The *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum* offer a further means by which to explore the importance of these aspects of political culture to the

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[219] Karl Leyser, 'Ritual, Ceremony and Gesture: Ottonian Germany', in *Communications and Power in the Middle Ages vol. 1: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. Timothy Reuter (1994), 189-213.

[220] Althoff stressed that the rules mattered less in stateless societies. What polities qualified under this rubric is not, however, always clear. For example, Althoff stressed at times that medieval Europe consisted, at least until the end of the thirteenth century, of 'societies without states'. Modern notions of *Staatlichkeit* (state-ness) are thus inappropriate in societies with 'no monopoly of power, no statutes, no claim to primacy for public organisation, no disjuncture between public and private, practically no administration and bureaucracy, nor many other things that we have in mind when we think of the terms "state" and "public"'. The sense of chronological change is at times unclear. For example, Althoff contrasted the Ottonian and Salian period with the 'more public' political order that existed both before and afterwards, referring to the Carolingian Empire 'as precociously modern'. Elsewhere, his arguments are applied to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Althoff also made clear that his ideas were developed primarily in relation to East Frankia. See Althoff, *Spielregeln*, 3, 7, 24, 98, 162, 127, 227.

[221] Barrow, 'Demonstrative Behaviour' concluded that such behaviour was used in Anglo-Saxon England, but less so than in the Empire and that the written word did perform functions in England which in Ottonian and Salian Germany were practiced by gesture; Insley, '"Ottonians with Pipe Rolls"?; Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England*, 161-194 is of particular relevance to this study for applying the ideas developed by Althoff, and others, to the Anglo-Saxon *vitae*.

[222] Reuter, 'Mandate, Privilege, Court judgement'.

[223] Reuter, 'Velle sibi fieri in forma hac'.

[224] Koziol, 'England, France, and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual', 124; J.E.A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship* (London, 1955) is an exception in this regard, but its influence has remained limited and had more to say regarding the development of royal government and practice, than ideals of kingship.

representation of kings, and their interactions with bishops, including at the royal court. Both Barrow, and in particular the in-depth study undertaken by Roach, have demonstrated the value of the *vitae* as a source for this behaviour. As the latter suggested, we ignore the priorities of such sources at our peril.[225] In addition, Roach argued that the relationship between 'ritualised "charisma" and 'effective institutional authority' can in fact be symbiotic, rather than antagonistic. That is, the use of state structures may offer new opportunities for the display of ritualised or demonstrative behaviour, a proposition that will be tested below with regard to twelfth-century England.[226] Finally, Althoff's work itself has tended to draw upon historical writing rather than episcopal *vitae*,[227] and his more recent work, on counsel as a restraint on royal power, was confined to the Empire; we thus have an opportunity here to test the relevance of his insights more widely.[228] Indeed, one consequence of exploring kingship through the *vitae* will be to re-orientate our view of English political culture towards those features of it, such as demonstrative behaviour, ritual, and counsel, and the audiences of royal assemblies, that have previously been neglected.[229]

Furthermore, although this is a study primarily of the representation of kingship, much of what follows invariably concerns the expectations of episcopal behaviour in relation to kings. As several historians have recently pointed out, high medieval bishops have themselves been surprisingly marginal figures in modern scholarship compared to their early

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[225] Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England*, 219.
[226] Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England*, 220.
[227] Althoff does occasionally make use of the *vitae*, but his examples tend to be recycled and drawn from *vitae* of Bernward of Hildesheim and Ulrich of Augsburg, texts earlier than our period. For their usage, as well as some exceptions drawing on twelfth-century texts, see, Althoff, *Spielregeln*, 44, 169-171, 218-221 229-230, 236-237, 249, 251, 253 as well as Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers. Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), 145; Gerd Althoff, *Kontrolle der Macht: Formen und Regeln politischer Beratung im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2016), 326-328 (which does include use of the *vitae* of Benno of Osnabrück, Albero of Trier, and Conrad of Salzburg).
[228] As pointed out by Björn Weiler, 'Review: Gerd Althoff, Kontrolle der Macht', *German History* 35:2 (2017), 310-311.
[229] On assemblies see Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England*, esp. 1-6; Timothy Reuter, 'Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth century to the Twelfth' in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 193-216; Stuart Airlie, 'Talking Heads: Assemblies in Early Medieval Germany' in *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (Turnhout 2004), 29-46; Leidulf Melve, 'Assembly Politics and the "Rules of the Game" (ca. 650-1150)', *Viator* 41:2 (2010), 69-90, at 78-79; Leidulf Melve, '"Even the Very Laymen are Chatting about it": The Politicalization of Public Opinion, 800-1200', *Viator* 44:1 (2013), 25-48; Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1997). See, on England, however, Maddicott, *Origins of the English Parliament*, 57-105; On the duty of the episcopate to advise the king in the High Middle Ages, see now Ryan Kemp, 'Advising the King: Kingship, Bishops and Saints in the Works of William of Malmesbury', in *Discovering William of Malmesbury*, ed. Emily Dolmans, Emily Winkler, and Rodney Thomson (Woodbridge, 2017), 65-80; Björn Weiler, 'Clerical Admonitio, Letters of Advice to Kings, and Episcopal Self-fashioning, c. 1000-1200', *History* 102:352 (2017), 557-575.

medieval predecessors.[230] Their interactions with kings have also received little comparative treatment. Reuter rightly emphasised that royal service was only a minor part of a bishop's duties. Nonetheless, that relationship has primarily been seen in institutional terms, with surprisingly little attention paid to the *representation* of royal-episcopal encounters.[231] While Reuter was correct to point out that the space devoted by episcopal biographers to kings was disproportionate, in the context of a bishop's overall duties, that in itself is suggestive of the value attached to royal connections and the disparity is worth taking seriously.[232] Indeed, recent work on the Early Middle Ages has put the ideals and expectations of episcopal behaviour into sharper focus.[233] The most important contribution in this regard, Steffen Patzold's *Episcopus*, argued that knowledge of one's role in society was passed on through text, habit, and direct instruction. Power could thus be defined as the ability to perform certain actions, based on roles attributed to you by others or derived from a particular office.[234] While Patzold's study was particularly notable for the range of materials consulted, and stressed the importance of comparing multiple genres, the *vitae* and *gesta*, with their aim of instructing the bishop directly, must rank among the most important normative, as well as narrative, sources for expectations of episcopal behaviour.[235] An equivalent study for the High Middle Ages, remains a *desideratum*, but would also be hampered by the sheer volume of source material. As Reuter commented, a 'comprehensive study of the episcopal ideal and of the literary genre of the 'mirror for bishops [Bischofspiegel] is still awaited'.[236] In terms of examining hagiography as a source for political culture, early medievalists have again led the way. Mayke de Jong pointed out that hagiographies, 'once discarded as completely useless... now serve as a privileged source of information about the political order of the Early Middle

[230]As pointed out in *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the first Millennium*, ed. Sean Gilsdorf (Münster, 2004), xiii-xiv; John Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire* (New York, 2012), 4-7; Scott G. Bruce, 'Review: The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages', *Early Medieval Europe* 17:3 (2009), 359-360. On the importance of this period, although with an earlier focus than the twelfth century, Timothy Reuter, 'A Europe of Bishops: The Age of Wulfstan of York and Burchard of Worms', in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Wassenhoven (Berlin, 2011), 17-38.
[231] John Eldevik, 'Bishops in the Medieval Empire: New Perspectives on the Church, State and Episcopal Office', *History Compass* 9 (2011), 776-790 for an overview.
[232] Reuter, 'A Europe of Bishops', 36.
[233] For examples relating to the High Middle Ages, see especially Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community in North-Western Europe*; Stefan Burkhardt, *Mit Stab und Schwert: Bilder, Träger und Funktionen erzbischöflicher Herrschaft zur Zeit Friedrich Barbarossas; Die Erzbistümer Köln und Mainz im Vergleich* (Stuttgart, 2008) and now, in particular, Sophie Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community of England, 1213-1272* (Oxford, 2017).
[234] Steffen Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern, 2008). 38-45.
[235] Patzold, *Episcopus*, 520-521.
[236] Reuter, 'A Europe of Bishops', 27 n. 32.

Ages''.[237] Such an approach is far less common for our period, and especially for England. One reason for this is perhaps that *vitae* have received greater attention where other narrative sources are lacking, for example in the Merovingian period. The same could hardly be said of twelfth-century England, well-known for its 'golden age of historiography'.[238] That label could well apply, in addition, to the number and quality of the hagiographical output across the same period. Yet it is Eadmer and William of Malmesbury as historians, the latter's *Gesta Regum* rather than the *Gesta Pontificum*, and John of Salisbury and Gerald of Wales as political theorists, rather than as hagiographers, that have been the primary focus of much secondary literature.[239]

Finally, the co-operation between secular rulers and bishops, whether in Late Antiquity or in the foundation of the Carolingian Empire, has been much emphasised.[240] Mayke de Jong, Monika Suchan, and Irene van Renswoude, in particular, have also drawn attention to the importance of clerical *admonitio* - criticism for the ruler's benefit - which has received less attention from high medievalists.[241] Greater emphasis is placed by early medievalists on the interconnections between royal and episcopal power and the capacity for overlap in norms and values. The early medieval period is now characterised by the 'complex interdependence between rulers and churches' with episcopal-royal partnerships judged as

[237] Mayke de Jong, 'The Foreign Past. Medieval historians and Cultural Anthropology', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 109 (1996), 326-342, at 331. Especially important contributions include Paul Fouracre, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', *Past and Present* 107 (1990), 3-36; Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981); Leyser's direct engagement with the *Magna Vita*, and its representation of kingship, has indeed been rare: Leyser, 'The Angevin Kings and the Holy Man'. See also, however, Joanna Huntington, 'Saintly Power as a Model of Royal Authority: the "Royal Touch" and Other Miracles in the Early Vitae of Edward the Confessor', in *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek, (Turnhout, 2007), 327–343; and the scholarship discussed in the introductions to Chapters 2, 3, and 4 below.

[238] Michael Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford, 2017), 2.

[239] For example, Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, ix made clear that his primary interest was in William as a historian; Sigbjörn Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History* (Woodbridge, 2012) did not include the *Gesta Pontificum* in its analysis. James Campbell, 'Some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past', in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), 209-228, at 227 complained of the 'complex intractability of the hagiographical materials'. The forthcoming volume, edited by Charlie Rozier and Sally Vaughn *Eadmer Beyond Anselm* will present a more rounded view of Eadmer's activities. On John see, as typical, Cary J. Nederman, 'The Liberty of the Church and the Road to Runnymede: John of Salisbury and the Intellectual Foundations of the Magna Carta', *Political Science & Politics* 43:3 (2010), 457-641.

[240] Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2005); Michael E. Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of Frankish kingship, 300 – 850* (Washington, DC 2011).

[241] See especially Mayke de Jong, 'Admonitio and Criticism of the Ruler at the Court of Louis the Pious', in *La culture du haut moyen âge, une question d'élites?* ed. François Bougard (Turnhout, 2009), 315-338; Mayke de Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009); Irene van Renswoude, *Licence to Speak. The Rhetoric of Free Speech in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, forthcoming); Weiler, 'Clerical Admonitio', 557-575.

characteristic.[242] There is occasionally a tendency in such work, in its desire to disavow the antagonistic instincts of the older scholarship on Church and State, simply to push the problem several centuries forward. Mayke de Jong described the 'interconnected corridors of power', in which bishops and kings moved freely in their mutual dependence on the resources of the sacred, but suggests such connections were attacked in the eleventh century.[243] Ideals of clerical independence, she argued, must not be projected back into the early medieval period, but are still judged to apply to the High Middle Ages when 'a self-confident papacy and clergy redrew the boundaries between secular and sacred, claiming the latter as the exclusive domain of the clergy'.[244] While de Jong naturally viewed the early medieval Church as the principal victim of this chronological divide, it might be suggested that the consequences for the perception of its high medieval successor have been equally distorting. Steffen Patzold too suggested that the co-operation he highlighted, between kings and their episcopate, changed fundamentally in the late eleventh century.[245] Even when we turn in this study to topics such as episcopal criticism of and opposition to kings, we shall see that there was in fact a greater degree of overlap, dialogue, mutual respect, and co-operation, than such characterisations have implied.

This study is divided into four parts. The first chapter provides a context for the analysis that follows by highlighting the biblical, classical, patristic, and early medieval background to the expectations of royal and episcopal behaviour we will encounter in the *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum*. This examination, of the traditions of political thought common to the Latin West as a whole, highlights the models of royal and episcopal behaviour available to twelfth-century authors as well as possible lines of transmission. In addition, a brief comparison of the Anglo-Saxon, Ottonian, and early Salian *vitae*, and their portrayal of kingship, will allow us to establish with greater certainty any contrasts that emerge with their twelfth-century equivalents.

The second chapter consists of a case study, examining the representation of kingship in the context of military service. As we shall see, authors stressed very different themes when they portrayed English and German kings on campaign and on the battlefield. The royal

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[242] Mayke de Jong, 'The State of the Church: Ecclesia and Early Medieval State Formation', in *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat*, ed. Walter Pohl and Veronika Wieser (Vienna, 2009), 241-254, at 243 for further references.
[243] Mayke de Jong, 'Religion' in *The Early Middle Ages. Short Oxford History of Europe, II*, ed. R. McKitterick (Oxford, 2001), 131-164, 164.
[244] Jong, 'Religion', 1f61-162.
[245] Patzold, *Episcopus*, 543.

services provided by the episcopate during times of war supply a theme, common to both realms, through which we can highlight more fundamental differences in the representations of royal and episcopal behaviour, contrasts which will reoccur in the remainder of the study.

The third and fourth chapters then turn to the portrayal of kingship in the *vitae* and *gesta* more generally. In each case, we adopt a thematic approach, outlining the patterns that emerge from the image of kingship drawn by episcopal biographers. In England, this allows us to trace a particularly forceful tradition of episcopal oversight in the twelfth-century *vitae*, albeit one practiced with far greater courtesy and restraint than hitherto appreciated. We will also examine why the same authors considered episcopal correction, counsel, and support to be so crucial to the fate of kings and their subjects. Finally, this chapter examines the role played by the more fundamental 'rules of the game' and how they interacted with the expectations episcopal biographers had of kings and bishops in twelfth-century England.

When we turn to the last chapter, and the portrayal of kingship in Germany, we will encounter important differences from England in how episcopal biographers and chroniclers in that realm viewed royal authority. Adopting a thematic approach will again allow us not only to identify important contrasts with England, but also to draw conclusions which differ from previous interpretations primarily concerned with narratives of chronological change and the impact of the Investiture Contest. We will find that comparing the portrayal of kingship in the German *vitae* and *gesta*, rather than using them as case studies in the inevitable decline of royal authority, will allow us to reappraise the place of kings, and the Investiture Contest, in the historical and cultural memory of religious communities in twelfth-century Germany. The findings from these two chapters are then brought together in the conclusion. Here, we will summarise the hitherto unnoticed differences in the representation of kingship in England and Germany highlighted by this study, and suggest they were rooted in more fundamental and structural contrasts in the political culture of the two realms.

Chapter 1: Foundations

Introduction

This chapter proceeds in three stages. The first examines a set of foundational sources which enjoyed either continued or renewed popularity in the High Middle Ages and which formed an intellectual heritage common to both England and Germany. While the portrayal of kingship in twelfth-century *vitae* was very much rooted in the specific political culture of each realm, these sources nonetheless had a profound influence, both directly and indirectly, on how later authors conceptualised royal and episcopal authority. Biblical, classical, and patristic traditions were mutually reinforcing in this regard. Not all episcopal biographers had read Cicero, for example, but all were likely to be familiar with the broader assumptions of Stoic political thought as mediated by Christian traditions. Similarly, while direct comparisons between the episcopate and the biblical prophets were surprisingly few, the Bible's importance was not confined to such citations, but manifested itself in a set of moral paradigms of fundamental importance for our authors' understanding of the past, and the place of royal and ecclesiastical power within it. The aim of this first section is to highlight the models of royal and episcopal authority that these traditions made available to twelfth-century authors and to demonstrate, as far as possible, the lines of transmission, whether through manuscript survivals or evidence of reception within the *vitae* themselves. Relying only on the former would, however, distort the influence of some of the traditions reviewed here. More clerics knew Ambrose of Milan had admonished Emperor Theodosius, for example, than had read his works or necessarily cited the episode in their texts. This survey, while necessarily selective, highlights those aspects of these traditions which resonated with a twelfth-century audience. The balance of examples in what follows does, however, lean towards England. This disparity partly reflects the fact that England is especially well supported with survey literature. A resource comparable to that produced by Neil Ker for medieval library catalogues, for example, is lacking for Germany. Although further research into the influence of these texts in Germany would thus be particularly desirable, nonetheless it should be stressed that the foundational sources reviewed by this chapter – such as Cicero's *De Officiis*, Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care,* and the Pseudo-Cyprian *Twelve Abuses* – survived in broadly similar numbers in the two realms. While further research is necessary into the specific nature of their influence, we are nonetheless dealing with an intellectual heritage common to both kingdoms.

The second section of this chapter then turns to a further set of traditions that either influenced our authors directly or mark an important context for our later discussions of royal and episcopal behaviour. The model provided by St Martin of Tours (c. 316/336 - 397), an ascetic bishop, who showed contempt for royal power and reluctance perform military service, was much referred to by later writers. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* too, as well as a popular and influential text in its own right, provides an early demonstration of the importance attached to episcopal counsel in Anglo-Saxon England. The increased emphasis on *admonitio* under the Carolingian dynasty forms a further legacy to take into account, not least as the existing scholarship on the subject raises questions pertinent to our twelfth-century English examples. Although the evidence for the direct influence of Carolingian models on the *vitae* and *gesta* is slight, evaluating the image of royal and episcopal behaviour put forth by Carolingian authors provides a useful point of comparison. We then turn to the tenth century monastic reform movement in Anglo-Saxon England, and the royal-episcopal alliance it embodied, before examining how the works of Ælfric of Eynsham (c. 955 - c. 1010) and Wulfstan of York (r. 1002-1023) marked a shift towards greater episcopal responsibility for the moral health of both king and nation.

The final section undertakes a comparative and thematic analysis of the portrayal of kingship in the Anglo-Saxon, Ottonian, and Salian *vitae*. This comparison, while brief, provides an essential background to what follows. It identifies, for instance, how the reigns of Edgar (r. 943/944 - 975), Otto I (r. 912-973), and Henry II (r. 973-1024) already formed a golden age in the view of these writers, with each attributed a measure of religious oversight that will contrast with that of their twelfth-century successors. Björn Weiler has argued that the admonishing prelate of twelfth-century England cannot be divorced from a wider rediscovery of the Anglo-Saxon past, in which St Dunstan's (archbishop of Canterbury until 988) admonitions of kings were well-remembered.[1] While Dunstan's portrayal will be considered further in chapter 3, our analysis here finds no comparable tradition in Ottonian and Salian Germany. Indeed, while criticism of kings and suspicion of the royal court, were characteristics of the *vitae* of both realms, in England we find a greater episcopal

[1] Björn Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings in England, c. 1066 – c. 1215', in *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter: Deutschland und England im Vergleich*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2013), 157–204, esp. 193.

responsibility for the king's personal conduct, and the example he set for the kingdom, in a manner reminiscent of the Carolingian sources.

This chapter thus aims to explore the ways in which twelfth-century portrayals of English and German kingship in the *vitae* related to their biblical, classical, patristic, and early medieval precedents. Such comparisons, for example, force us to define what we mean by the term 'Carolingian'. Indeed, the characterisation can disguise the more fundamental seams of political thought that ran through both the Early and High Middle Ages and which had already stressed the interdependence of ruler and people, the destructive impact of royal sin, and the fundamental importance of correcting the powerful. It is by focusing on these three elements in particular, that what follows will demonstrate both the importance of this legacy, but also how certain aspects of this heritage gathered their own momentum in different parts of the Latin West.

1. Foundational texts

Biblical kings and prophets

The Bible profoundly influenced how medieval authors conceptualised royal and episcopal power.[2] The biblical prophets provided an important model for the medieval episcopate through their admonition of Israel's kings, their promulgation of God's judgement, and their mediation of moral precepts and divine instruction. In addition, biblical history provided examples of God's support for royal armies and accounts of how the relationship between royal conduct, divine oversight, and the fate of God's people played out in practice. At the same time, we shall see that these biblical models were not simply copied by twelfth-century authors. Their influence was, in fact, more complex, their citation more selective, and their importance bound up with their patristic and medieval transmission, not least in the interweaving of similar, but distinct, lessons from Antiquity.

The importance of a threefold partnership between God, prophet, and king, is central to the Old Testament. In Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, God reminded Moses that divine favour, manifested in the possession of the Promised Land, depended on

[2] Walter Ullmann's lament of the paucity of work dealing with its application still stands. Walter Ullmann, 'The Bible and Principles of Government in the Middle Ages', in his *The Church and the Law in the Earlier Middle Ages: Selected Essays*, (London, 1975), 187-227, at 182-3. There is far greater literature on the reading of the Bible in general in the Middle Ages: Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 1964), x-xiii; *Reading the Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed. Janet Nelson and Damien Kempf (Bloomsbury, 2015).

obedience to God's instructions as mediated by his prophet. Joshua's conquest of Canaan was commissioned by God, and divine interventions at the battle of Gibeon and the siege of Jericho provided a model for medieval authors considering royal-episcopal co-operation on the battlefield.[3] The inhabitants of Jericho were, however, slaughtered on God's instruction: God's assistance was paramount, but mercy was not here a royal or prophetic virtue.[4] While divine intervention could be dramatic and direct, under Samuel the Israelites defeated the Philistines when they were blessed by God and accompanied by their prophets.[5] Medieval readers thus had examples of kings achieving military victory, both through direct supernatural intervention and because of God's approval and the company of his representatives.

The prosperity of individual rulers and of the kingdom was conditional on obeying God's law as mediated by his prophets. The overthrow of Saul, David's penance, Solomon's seduction, the wickedness of Jeroboam, and attempts at reform by Hezekiah and Josiah, were all related to God's covenant. Failure to heed prophetic admonition resulted in a pattern of divine punishment that eventually led to the first destruction of Jerusalem and the exile to Babylon.[6] The prophets in the Bible were unified by their shared responsibility to remind king and people that the Israelites would receive land, peace, and prosperity only if they followed the moral precepts of the one true God. Their role in the making of kings was emphasised: Saul, David, and Solomon were anointed by Samuel, Nathan, and Zadok respectively.[7] After installing Saul as king, Samuel had continued to judge the kingdom, warning the people they must obey the king they had demanded or face divine punishment. Samuel would pray on their behalf, and offer moral instruction, but the fate of king and community were henceforth bound together.[8] Prophets now criticised kings, dwelling on the consequences of royal disobedience.[9] Even David, the exemplar of good kingship, offended God by committing adultery with Bathsheba and murdering her husband: his subsequent penance failed to mitigate God's wrath, but was nonetheless seized upon as a model for good royal conduct while Nathan's oversight offered its own inspiration to the episcopate.[10]

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[3] Joshua 1:1-9; Joshua 6:1-27; Joshua 10:11-13.
[4] Joshua 6:21.
[5] For examples see 1 Samuel 7, 1 Samuel 10-11; 2 Samuel 5; 2 Kings 3; 2 Kings 19.
[6] Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History: 400-1500* (Manchester, 2011), 54-55.
[7] 1 Samuel 8; 1 Samuel 16; 1 Kings 1:39.
[8] 1 Samuel 12.
[9] On the consequences of Saul's disobedience: 1 Samuel 13; 1 Samuel 15-19, 28.
[10] 2 Samuel 11 as well as 2 Samuel 24 which indicates that such penance was not always in vain. On the importance of David as a model of royal behaviour see the discussion of Ambrose and Theodosius below.

Occasionally God spoke to kings directly, for instance when he reminded Solomon that, if he or his descendants worshipped strange gods, then the people would be destroyed.[11] Solomon's subsequent seduction into idolatry by his wives led directly to the division of the kingdom.[12]

The first three Israelite kings were the most widely cited by medieval writers. Their careers highlighted the divine and sinful origins of kingship, as well as the importance of personal conduct and of prophetic oversight. These were themes emphasised throughout the Bible as a whole, with numerous examples illustrating how sinful and idolatrous kings had condemned their dynasties through their failure to heed prophetic censure.[13] Royal persecution of prophets, in turn, invited further punishment, while the influence of sinful women on kings, as in Solomon's case, was noted by medieval readers.[14] Prophets occasionally also acted as tutors to young kings. The subsequent rejection of that teaching again could prove fatal.[15] Kings themselves also acted as prophets, admonishing their people to obey the covenant, a precedent of particular importance to the development of Carolingian kingship.[16] Other sections of the Bible, especially the example of Isaiah and Jeremiah, reinforced the same paradigm, attributing the fall of Jerusalem to national sin and emphasising the necessity of national repentance.[17] The book of Ezekiel contained a passage much evoked by medieval writers to summarise episcopal responsibilities. God commissioned Ezekiel to be a watchman to the house of Israel, instructing him that, should he fail to urge the wicked to repent, he himself would be judged responsible for their deaths.[18] The passage is notable, not for its originality, but for how it encapsulates a more pervasive

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[11] 1 Kings 9.
[12] 1 Kings 11 illustrated dramatically by the Ahijah dividing a cloth into twelve pieces, symbolising the rebellious tribes.
[13] For examples see, 1 Kings 12-13; 1 Kings 11:29–39; 1 Kings 13:1–6; 1 Kings 16:1–7; 2 Kings 10; 2 Kings 14: 23–27; 2 Kings 20-25; 2 Chronicles 15:1–7; 2 Chronicles 16:7–10.
[14] 1 Kings 13:1–6; 1 Kings 14: 6-16; 1 Kings 16; 1 Kings 17:1; 1 Kings 18; 1 Kings 20: 34-43; 1 Kings 21; 1 Kings 22: 13-28; Chronicles described how kings faced immediate punishment, by contrast to Samuel and Kings were consequences are more often visited upon their descendents. 2 Chronicles 20: 1-23; 2 Chronicles 20: 35-37.
[15] 2 Chronicles 24:20–22 describes how, after the death of his tutor Jehoiada, king Joash began to worship false gods.
[16] 1 Samuel 9-10 ; 1 Kings 2; 1 Kings 3.
[17] Isaiah, 30:9-10; Jeremiah 26: 20-23 as well as the Books of Jeremiah, Judges, Joel, Amos more generally. Also featured in the New Testament, including Peter, Paul, John, as well Christ, with the Anti-Christ regarded in Revelations 2:20-23 as a false prophet. Julianna Grigg has also pointed out the paternalist and admonishing tone taken by the Book of Proverbs which, she suggested, provided a model for the insular development of advice to kings, pointing to Gildas's *De Excidio Brittonum* as 'the earliest extant indication of insular ecclesiastical admonishment of their kings'. Julianna Grigg, 'The Just King and De Duodecim Abusiuis Saeculi', *Parergon* 27:1 (2010), 27-52, at 31 n. 12.
[18] Ezekiel 33:7-9.

theme, reinforced by countless biblical examples, one seized upon by medieval authors to justify episcopal oversight of royal conduct.

Despite facing persecution, the biblical prophets were ruthless and forthright when admonishing kings and predicting the destruction of their realm and dynasties. They criticised directly, bringing divine wrath down upon their opponents, with their interventions characterised as often violent and merciless. Sparing enemy rulers was not a mark of virtuous royal clemency, but in the case of Saul, prompted disaster and deposition. Prophets interpreted God's signs, predicted divine punishments, and offered warning and instruction, as well as the possibility of redemption. The divine nature of royal office nonetheless demanded respect; criticism was the prerogative of prophets alone. When disaster did strike, kings and prophets together were judged to be jointly responsible for reforming the realm's morality in acts of collective repentance.

The Bible, especially the 'historical books' of Kings and Chronicles, was a direct historiographical inspiration. Moses was not only the prophet who received the greatest amount of divine instruction. He also, from Isidore of Seville onwards, topped medieval lists of eminent historians.[19] For later authors, the parallels with biblical history were readily apparent. The first *Life* of St Dunstan compared Eadwig's lover to Jezebel, especially in her persecution of God's prophets, while Adam of Eynsham had Hugh of Lincoln cite the Bible to demonstrate that Eleanor of Aquitaine's adultery would destroy the Angevin dynasty.[20] Herbert of Bosham compared Becket's episcopal colleagues to latter-day Pharisees and High Priests.[21] Biblical passages were drawn upon to condemn Henry V's rebellion against his father,[22] and Adam of Eynsham compared Hugh of Lincoln's clash with the agents of Angevin royal government to that between Elijah and the wicked king Ahaziah.[23] Eadmer of Canterbury also used Ecclesiastics 32:34 to argue that prophecies showed 'what should be done or followed by God's counsel'.[24] Despite these examples, the number of direct comparisons between episcopal and prophetic behaviour is relatively small. Especially pithy

[19] Kempshall, *Rhetoric,* 52-59 on importance of biblical models, not least for the episodic nature of medieval *vitae.* See also on biblical precedents Emily Winkler, *Royal Responsibility in Anglo-Norman Historical Writing* (Oxford, 2017), 33-37.
[20] B, *Vita Dunstani*, in *The Early Lives of St Dunstan,* ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 2012), 71-3.
[21] Michael Staunton, *Thomas Becket and His Biographers* (Woodbridge, 2006), 133 n. 45.
[22] *Vita Adalberonis episcopi Wirziburgensis,* MGH SS 12, 132.
[23] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis. The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln* , ed. and trans. Decima L. Douie and David Hugh Farmer, 2 vols. (Oxford 1961-1985), 2: 115-116; 2 Kings 1: 9-15.
[24] Kempshall, *Rhetoric,* 278; Eadmer of Canterbury, *Vita Anselmi*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (London, 1962), 12: 'Do all things with counsel, and when they are done you will not repent'.

formulations, such as Matthew 22:21 on the importance of rendering to Caesar,[25] and Ezekiel's injunction, were often referred to, but rarely with further comment. Equally, as we shall see in chapter 2, Jesus's sermon on the Mount, blessing the peace-makers, was not used by authors describing the episcopate's role as mediators in times of conflict. Many prophets were never invoked at all. Famous incidents, like Nathan's correction of David or Ezekiel's injunction, perhaps mattered more because of their later utilisation by authors such as Ambrose of Milan, Gregory the Great, and the Pseudo-Cyprian. The significance attached to biblical precedents depended much on their transmission through patristic and early medieval writings.

The repetition of examples, accumulated by biblical history, proved more influential in establishing moral paradigms for later writers. The sixth-century cleric Gildas, for instance, saw British history as fulfilling the pattern of Scripture and was later praised by Gerald of Wales for highlighting collective sin.[26] Indeed, for Gerald, the Old Testament highlighted the link between conquest and sin:

> 'read the Book of Kings, read the prophets, go through the entire Old Testament, consider the familiar examples from our own times and our own country. You will never find that any race has ever been conquered except when their sins demanded this as a punishment'.[27]

Biblical precedent mattered more for the patterns it established for later events: it allowed later authors to recognise the continual importance of prophetic oversight of royal behaviour, the consequences of the latter for the realm, and the link between divine intervention and military success. At the same time, as will become clear, biblical examples were not simply regurgitated without reflection or adaptation. On the contrary, the episcopal admonition portrayed by twelfth-century authors rarely lived up to the ferocity of the episcopate's biblical ancestors , but rather resembled a classical tradition of advising the ruler with restraint and courtesy. Similarly, the episcopal role as peacemaker and mediator finds little biblical precedent, but will still prove crucial to the representation of royal-episcopal

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[25] 'They say to him: Caesar's. Then he saith to them: Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's'. See Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum. Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart, 2000), 359-364 though with caution expressed regarding her conclusions in chapter 4 below.

[26] Kempshall, *Rhetoric,* 313-314, 390-391.

[27] Kempshall, *Rhetoric,* 53, 314, 390-391 for further examples; Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), 233.

interactions, in Germany in particular.[28] The authors of the Bible were indeed certainly not alone in the attention they paid to moral correction or the consequences of royal behaviour for the wider kingdom. Such themes were discussed with equal force by classical authors who both worked from very different assumptions and drew somewhat different conclusions as to how these paradigms worked out in practice.

Classical traditions: self-control, friendship, and the body politic

Classical political theory offered both important similarities, and underlying differences, with this biblical tradition.[29] A distinctively classical legacy, entailing guidance on manners and self-control, proved easily applicable to Christian rulers answerable to God for their conduct. Classical *exempla*, as much as biblical precedent, demonstrated how a ruler's personal behaviour could benefit or pollute the wider kingdom. Criticism of that conduct was, however, framed in terms of friendship, courtesy, and restraint, a far cry from the fierce admonition, backed up by divine threats, seen in the Bible and one that would eventually provide a very different model as to how one should counsel the Lord's Anointed.

Cicero and Seneca, the most influential of Roman writers on ethics, enjoyed a surge in popularity in the twelfth century and their advice was frequently applied to royal and episcopal duties. Stephen Jaeger has highlighted how Ciceronian ideals had a profound influence through encouraging the episcopate's courtly behaviour, a tradition of conduct transmitted by both text and practice.[30] The use of Cicero's *De Officiis* had been approved by the Church Fathers. It remained an important educational text after the fall of the Roman Empire, its influence enhanced by Ambrose of Milan's adaptation of it in his own *De Officiis* (discussed below).[31] Jaeger argued that Cicero's ideas proved especially influential in the letters and episcopal biographies produced by the cathedral schools.[32] While Jaeger judged

[28] 2. Chronicles 11 for an isolated example where the prophet Shemaiah prevents civil war by instructing Rehoboam, and the other Judean houses, not to fight one another.
[29] John Procopé, 'Greek and Roman Political Theory', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350- c. 1450,* ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988), 21-36, especially 22-28.
[30] Stephen C. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness* (Philadelphia, 1985), 117. As Jaeger commented, coverage of Cicero's influence on the Middle Ages remains patchy. Nicholas Vincent has suggested that Henry II's court may have drawn upon Ciceronian or Quintilian gestures, Nicholas Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), 278-334, at 325.
[31] Jaeger, *Origins*, 119 cited James Stuart Beddie, 'Libraries in the Twelfth Century: Their Catalogues and Contents', in *Haskins Anniversary Studies in Medieval History* ed. Charles H Taylor and John L. La Monte (Boston, 1924), 1-23, at 12. This is not particularly useful, however, as Beddie's article does not deal with the reception of classical texts.
[32] On the general influnece of Cicero and Seneca on medieval education see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 900–1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), 3, 48-49. 109-110, 112-113, 194-5. On the use of Cicero's *De Officiis* and the *Laelius de Amicitia* by episcopal

the Ottonian royal court to have provided especially fertile ground for the revival of Roman ethical ideals, interest in Cicero and Seneca really 'exploded' only in the twelfth century.[33] Ciceronian ideals were crucial not only to episcopal education, but to the biblical exegesis undertaken at Paris and contemporary discussions of monastic and spiritual friendship.[34] From the ninth to the twelfth century, 56 copies of Cicero's *De Officiis* are extant, including 42 twelfth-century copies.[35] The same period supplies 55 copies of Cicero's *Laelius de Amicitia,* and 40 twelfth-century copies.[36] In twelfth-century England, copies of the *Laelius* were available at Bridlington, Waltham, Evesham, Whitby, and Christ Church, Canterbury.[37] Copies of the *De Officiis* are more difficult to pin down, but were certainly available and read.[38] William of Conches' *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* was in part a patchwork of 165 quotations from the *De Officiis.*[39] John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* also drew heavily on Cicero's text for its discussion of royal behaviour, and John bequeathed a copy from his personal library to Chartres cathedral: Beryl Smalley claimed the text 'delighted him'.[40] The

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biographers see *Envy of Angels,* 45, 312, 407. Jaeger pointed out that Carl Erdmann's edition of the letters of Henry IV contains two columns in the index of Ciceronian citations and that the editor referred to the Bamberg school master, Meinhard, as a 'true Ciceronian' for his use of the *De Officiis* and Ciceronian style. On the Regensburg letter and the influence of the *Laelius de Amicitia* see Jaeger, *Envy of Angels,* 133-134 and C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness* (Philadelphia, 1985), 118-119.

[33] Jaeger, *Origins*, 119-126. 'Explosion' was the term applied by Leighton D. Reynolds to the certain growth of interest in Seneca's *De Clementia* during the twelfth century: Leighton D. Reynolds. 'The Younger Seneca: *De Beneficiis* and *De Clementia*', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1984), 363-365, at 364.

[34] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels;* Brian McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1988), 296–338; Constant J. Mews, 'Cicero and the Boundaries of Friendship in the Twelfth Century', *Viator* 38:2 (2007), 369-384; On the difficulties of tracing influence Birger Munk Olsen, 'Comment peut-on déterminer la popularité d'un texte au Moyen Âge? L'exemple des oeuvres classiques latines', *Interfaces* 3 (2016), 13–27; Kempshall, *Rhetoric,* 31 n. 106, 196 suggested that the *Laelius* may have been used by William of Tyre and that the monks of Corbie, including Paschasius Radbertus (discussed below) had access to Cicero's texts. See also on the *De Officiis,* Winker, *Royal Responsibility,* 31-33.

[35] Olsen, 'Comment', 21-22. The *De Officiis* is harder to trace in the medieval catalogues. Michael Winterbottom, 'The Transmission of Cicero's De Officiis', *The Classical Quarterly* 43:1 (1993), 215-242.

[36] Olsen, 'Comment', 21-22; J. G. F. Powell, 'The Manuscripts and Text of Cicero's Laelius de Amicitia', *The Classical Quarterly* 48:2 (1998), 506-518 suggests the total number of twelfth-century manuscripts to have been around 50.

[37] Medieval Libraries of Great Britain Database, http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/browse/C/ accessed 01/08/2018.

[38] Michael Winterbottom, 'Cicero: De Officiis', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics,* ed. Leighton D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1984), 130-131 and the examples given below.

[39] *Das Moralium Dogma Philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches,* ed. John Holmberg (Paris, 1929); John O. Ward, 'What the Middle Ages Missed of Cicero, and Why', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Cicero* ed. William H.F. Altman (Leiden, 2015), 307-326, at 317.

[40] Winker, *Royal Responsibility,* 31-32; Ward, 'What the Middle Ages Missed of Cicero, and Why', 322-223 which pointed out that *De Officiis* was the text most used by John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus* which cited at least 28 passages; John D. Hosler, *John of Salisbury: Military Authority of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Leiden, 2013), 44-45, 93, 108; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Turnhout, 1993), 29-30, 105, 116-117; Clement C. J. Webb, *John of Salisbury* (London, 1932), 65-69; Laure Hermand-Schebat, 'John of Salisbury and Classical Antiquity', in *A Companion to John of Salisbury*, ed. F. Lachaud and C. Grellard (Leiden, 2015), 180-214; Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* (Oxford, 1973), 93.

scholar, abbot, (and foster-brother of Richard I), Alexander Neckham (c. 1157-1217), recommended the tract as among the essential materials scholars should study from a young age, and Abelard praised Heloise's command of the *Laelius.*[41] The text proved especially important for William of Malmesbury, who explained to his friend Guthlac that both the *De Officiis* and the *Laelius* were useful expositions on virtue and vice.[42] The *Laelius* was also especially popular in south-west Germany. A tradition of the text stemming from the ninth century was, at times, also associated with Constance and Cologne, and expanded considerably in the twelfth century.[43] While direct references to these texts are rare in the episcopal *vitae* and *gesta*, Cicero's discussions of proper conduct, and the importance of admonition to friendship, nonetheless reached the twelfth century both through manuscripts of his works, surging in popularity, and through his broader contribution to high medieval political and intellectual thought.

Seneca's views on self-control and governance proved similarly popular.[44] The broader influence of Stoicism is difficult to disentangle from the Christian orthodoxy developed by the Church Fathers.[45] Many of Seneca's *Dialogues* enjoyed only a limited reception before the thirteenth century,[46] but the twelfth century witnessed 'an explosion of

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[41] Ward, 'What the Middle Ages Missed of Cicero, and Why', 325-326; Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 125; Alexander Neckham, 'Sacerdos ad Altare Accessurus', ed. C. H. Haskins in his *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, MA, 1927), 372-373.

[42] Ward, 'What the Middle Ages Missed of Cicero, and Why', 319; On the use of Cicero's *De Officiis* in theWilliam of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Rodney N. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007) 2: 26, 315; On William of Malmesbury's collection of Cicero's works see Sigbjörn Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History* (Woodbridge, 2012), 25-26. William drew heavily on passages from both Cicero and Ambrose's versions of the text to characterise William Rufus's profligacy in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, 219-222. On William of Malmesbury's view of friendship and the influence of the *Laelius* see Sønnesyn, *Ethics of History*, 39-40, 154 and its transmission via Cassian's theory of friendship. See also Rodney Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge, 2003), 51-55. On William's general reading of Cicero's works see Sønnesyn, *Ethics of History*, 4, 25, 48, 52-4, 62-6, 76, 85, 219-222, 260, 269.

[43] J. G. F. Powell, 'Cicero: Laelius de amicitia', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. Leighton D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1984), 121-124; for a case study of Cicero's influence on a single German episcopal *vita* see Adolf Hofmeister, 'Cicero in der Vita Lietberti', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 48 (1930), 165-174. There were earlier copies of *De Officiis* produced in Germany. See Winterbottom, 'Cicero: De Officiis', 131.

[44] Peter Stacey, 'Senecan Political Thought from the Middle Ages to Early Modernity', in *The Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, ed. Shadi Bartsch (2015), 289-302, at 290; Roland Mayer, 'Seneca *Redivivus*: Seneca in the Medieval and Renaissance World', in *The Cambridge Companion to Seneca*, ed. Shadi Bartsch (2015), 277-288, at 279.

[45] Seneca, *De Clementia*, ed. and trans. Susanna Morton (Oxford, 2011), 6-7.

[46] Leighton D. Reynolds, 'The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Dialogues', *The Classical Quarterly* 18:2 (1968), 355-372, pointed out that the *De Ira* was virtually unknown before the thirteenth century. See also on manuscript dissemination Daniel Baraz, 'Seneca, Ethics, and the Body: The Treatment of Cruelty in Medieval Thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59:2 (1998), 195-215, at 209-210 and Seneca, *De Clementia*, 77.

interest' in the *De Clementia*, with nearly 300 manuscripts extant from England to Austria.[47] William of Malmesbury quoted the text, praised Seneca, and was heavily influenced by his works.[48] Gerald of Wales cited *De Clementia*, even characterising it as a commentary on royal power, praising Henry II for taking Seneca's advice to rule like a physician.[49] John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, and his metaphor of the Body Politic, was also indebted to *De Clementia*.[50] Seneca's discussion of the inter-dependency between monarch and community has been described as running like 'a rich seam through centuries of European monarchical thought'.[51] Episcopal *vitae* and *gesta* were thus written in a period of renewed renown for Cicero and Seneca. Indeed, the religious communities at the focus of our study played a crucial role in renewing this classical tradition in the first place.

This tradition had been absorbed by Christian political thought in part because its teachings, including on the importance of self-control and correction to the realm's political and moral health, proved easy to assimilate. The significance of Cicero's *De Officiis* had derived from its projection of Stoic ideals, especially urbanity and courtesy, onto the Roman elite, while stressing the importance of manners to social and political morality. However, Cicero also provided a very different perspective on warfare to the Old Testament: conflict should be a last resort, embarked upon solely to establish a just peace and to facilitate the wrongdoer's repentance, with clear limits on bloodshed and retribution, and praise for clemency.[52] This focus on restraint reflected Cicero's concern with self-control and moderation. True heroism, Cicero argued, was found in indifference to outward circumstances, an important lesson for the powerful who should show courtesy and forbearance in their actions and speech.[53] Upholding one's virtue also depended on access to good counsel. The more prosperous one became, Cicero argued, the more one should seek

[47] Seneca, *De Clementia*, 77; Reynolds. 'The Younger Seneca: *De Beneficiis* and *De Clementia'*, 363-365 which mentions manuscripts of German and English origin in the twelfth century including at Erfurt, Admont, and Aldersbach; on extracts of the text Mayer, 'Seneca *Redivivus*', 278-9.
[48] On the use of *De Clementia* by William of Malmesbury see *Gesta Pontificum*, 2: 292; On William's praise for Seneca and his reading of him Sønnesyn, *Ethics of History*, 4, 76-77, 82-83, 126, 151, 214, 261.
[49] Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dinnock, and G. F. Warner 8 vols. (London, 1861-1891), 3: 48; Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dinnock, and G. F. Warner 8 vols. (London, 1861-1891), 6: 41.
[50] Stacey, 'Senecan Political Thought', 293.
[51] A particularly spectacular use of *De Clementia* was made in *Constitutions of Melfi*, law codes issued for Sicily by Frederick II in 1231, the prologue placing Nero's words in the emperor's mouth. Stacey, 'Senecan Political Thought', 294-295.
[52] Cicero, *De Officiis*, ed. and trans. Walter Miller (London, 1913), 34-7, 44-45, 82-83, 194-195.
[53] Cicero, *De Officiis*, 68-71, 74-75, 90-91, 96-103, 104-109, 132-133 included discussion of the importance of such restraints in jests and in one's physical appearance.

and heed the counsel of friends rather than the conceit of sycophants.[54] The duty to give and receive advice pertained to all: the young should defer to the wisdom of the elderly, who, in turn, were obliged to provide counsel and restrict their own excess.[55] Criticism was the foundation of true and virtuous friendship.[56] In both the *Laelius* and *De Officiis*, Cicero outlined that this most important social bond depended on harmonised ethical values and the avoidance of flattery and self-interest: it could exist only between those who both gave and received frank advice.[57] Tyrants, receiving fake affection, thus had no true friends and Cicero even condemned those who changed their habits, be it a mere nod or grimace, in order to suit another.[58] True companions were distinguished by their constancy, frankness, and sympathy, and would gladly accept advice.[59] Cicero recognised this as a potential cause for offence, but emphasised that friends 'frequently must be not only advised, but also rebuked, and that both advice and rebuke should be kindly received when given in a spirit of good will'.[60] The true Ciceronian friend, like Ezekiel's watchman, would not indulge his companion's sin, while the recipient of friendly criticism should 'grieve for the offence and rejoice at its correction'.[61]

Cicero urged that criticism, while important, ought to be employed with care. Friends should be courteous, urbane, and affable 'to give no mean flavour to friendship'.[62] Severity and gravity might seem impressive, Cicero admitted, but true friendship ought to be more agreeable.[63] Advice and reproofs should be stern and given freely, but without harshness and insult. The tenor of this counsel must also vary. An emphatic tone of voice, with forceful and severe language, should be used only sparingly, and those offering reproof must demonstrate that any harshness was for the benefit of its recipient. In addition, the critic must only appear to be angry, maintaining their dignity out of self-respect and for the approval of witnesses.[64] In fact, often 'a mild reproof... with earnestness' would prove more effective.[65] Cicero

[54] Cicero, *De Officiis*, 92-95.
[55] Cicero, *De Officiis*, 124-127.
[56] Cicero, *De Officiis*, 58-59.
[57] Cicero, *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione*, ed. and trans. W. A. Falconer (London, 1923), 126-127, 130-131.
[58] Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 162-5, 200-211.
[59] Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 174-175.
[60] Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 198-199.
[61] Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 154-157, quotation at 198-199.
[62] Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 176-177.
[63] Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 176-177.
[64] Cicero, *De Officiis*, 138-139.
[65] Cicero, *De Officiis*, 138-139.

therefore highlighted that, while criticism was essential to maintaining one's virtues, it must also be combined with restraint, decorum, affability, and wit.[66]

Cicero's advice in this regard was part of a wider classical rhetorical tradition. The importance of combining advice to a ruler with flattery was familiar from Seneca the Elder's *Declamationes*, copies of which could be found in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century at Waltham, Rochester, and Canterbury.[67] The wider tradition of deliberative rhetoric stressed the importance of counsel, advice, and restraint. In an influential passage from his *De Oratore,* Cicero claimed that an orator was best placed to castigate the wicked and recall the sinful.[68] Speakers should move listeners by combining criticism with instructive examples in an appealing and enjoyable manner.[69] Quintilian noted the difficulties involved in criticising the powerful and suggested that one should point out the target was only deficient in one respect, probably due to obstinacy, credulity, or the influence of others. Critics should adopt an attitude of respect, and even love, emphasising that their criticism was moderate, made out of necessity, and in support of a just cause.[70] The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* similarly pointed to the Greek tradition of *parrhesia,* a position claimed by those seeking to speak unpalatable truths to power. This stance required similar techniques: the combination of criticism with praise, appeals to friendship, and protestations of loyalty, both to the target of one's censure and to the very concept of truth itself.[71]

In this regard, a significant difference existed between biblical and classical traditions of criticism. Samuel was David's anointer and admonisher, not his friend; affability, courtesy, and wit were not tools favoured by the biblical prophets. Both traditions agreed on the importance of elite personal conduct to the welfare of the wider political community. But Cicero's focus on manners, self-control, and courtesy was very different. The notion that warfare should be undertaken as a last resort, and characterised by restraint, in order to achieve repentance and a just peace, differed profoundly from the blood-soaked and merciless conquests of the Old Testament. While Cicero attached great importance to

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[66] See Jaeger, *Origins,* 115-117.
[67] Kempshall, *Rhetoric,* 168-169; Seneca the Elder, *Declamationes*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and W. C. Wright (2 vols, Cambridge, MA, 1974), i, 491-497; Medieval Libraries of Great Britain database, http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/browse/S/, accessed 01/08/2018.
[68] Kempshall, *Rhetoric,* 242 who highlighted citations of the passage by Gerald of Wales and Vincent Beauvais among others; Cicero, *De Oratore*, trans. E. Sutton and H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA, 1948), 223-225.
[69] Kempshall, *Rhetoric,* 9, 140-145, 151.
[70] Kempshall, *Rhetoric,* 195; Quintilian, *Institutio Orationia*, trans. H. E. Butler (4 vols, Cambridge, MA, 1920-1922), iv, 195-197.
[71] Kempshall, *Rhetoric* 195; *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. H. Caplan (Cambridge, MA, 1954), 349-355.

criticism, it was a duty set in the context of courteous and affable friendships, not prophetic admonition on behalf of a vengeful God. Crucially, and unlike the biblical examples, Cicero urged restraint and suggested that circumstances should dictate whether mild or severe criticism was appropriate. Ambrose's adaptation of the *De Officiis* would illustrate how biblical examples could be fitted into this Ciceronian framework. A later Christian tradition of asceticism would also resemble, but not equate to, this earlier emphasis on self-control. When twelfth-century authors came to characterise the relationship between kings and bishops, their emphasis on familiarity, friendship, and, at times, courteous admonition, proves more reminiscent of Cicero's *De Amicitia* than the Book of Kings.

Cicero's influence rested partly on providing a Latin vocabulary for Stoicism, a philosophical tradition that portrayed the cosmos as an organism, directed by reason, and that stressed the perfection of one's rational faculties as a worthy goal. A harmonious realm was best served by wise and morally exceptional kings who would judge with discretion.[72] Building on this tradition, Seneca's *De Clementia* advised the newly crowned emperor Nero to temper his absolute power with clemency and restraint, characterising him as a *pater patriae* who would protect and benefit the realm.[73] Like Cicero, Seneca stressed the importance of good counsel, highlighting how Greek philosophers had advised kings.[74] The text also dwelt on the organic and interdependent relationship between emperor and people.[75] Nero, by acting with restraint, was characterised variously as a parent, doctor, and surgeon, his discernment holding the realm together, whereas anger would reduce him to the level of a subordinate. The latter was inappropriate for an occupant of royal office, whereas clemency was a specifically royal prerogative.[76] The ideal ruler was thus characterised as the restrained Stoic wise man who governed the people for their benefit and was receptive to counsel.[77]

Seneca's political thought resonated with medieval readers, in part because of his use of terminology such as *rex* and *regnum.* Twelfth-century writers recognised the lessons to be drawn for their own kings, and pursued Seneca's organic metaphor, one familiar from other traditions of how royal behaviour could benefit or pollute the realm. Both biblical and

[72] Seneca, *De Clementia*, 27-29, 64-65.
[73] Seneca, *De Clementia*, 31-39, 55-56, 69-70, 94-95 for a history of the concept of *clementia* and its transformation into a Christian ideal. The text lies at the foundation of a tradition of *speculum principis*, the first to describe itself as such.
[74] Seneca, *De Clementia*, 56, 146-147.
[75] Seneca, *De Clementia*, 58
[76] Seneca, *De Clementia*, 60-61, 98-101, 104-107, 108-109, 120-121.
[77] Seneca, *De Clementia*, 6-8, 72-73.

classical sources recognised the relationship between personal conduct and the wider polity, but offered different views as to how correction and counsel should be pursued in practice. If we now turn to those early Christian and patristic authors who helped transmit the classical legacy, we shall see how the two traditions were combined in texts themselves were well-known, popular, and influential in twelfth-century ecclesiastical communities.

Christian historiography: Eusebius and Orosius

Early Christian political thought contained a natural scepticism of government and its demands.[78] A 'radical dualism' defined Christianity's attitude towards the world: secular authority was the guarantee of order and justice, but also an instrument of domination and was tainted with sin. Certain passages were much cited by later *vitae* and *gesta* to demonstrate that God nonetheless demanded obedience and service to Caesar, including Matthew 22:21 and Romans 13:1.[79] While the Bible's influence was felt directly, it was also transmitted by Eusebius and Orosius, two Christian historians, who applied biblical patterns to extra-scriptural events. Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, composed *c*. 305 x 324, was best known through a Latin paraphrase, written *c*. 402 by Rufinus.[80] Eusebius 'indirectly, informed most, if not all, medieval historical writing' by defining the *res gestae Christianorum*: Christian writers would henceforth compose histories orientated around God's divine interventions, on behalf of his people, and his punishments of the wicked.[81] Eusebius described, for example, how Herod was struck by an angel while celebrating in his royal pomp. The army of Emperor Marcus Aurelius was saved by Christians who prayed for its salvation, whereas those who persecuted Christians faced swift retribution.[82]

Similar interventions were recorded in Orosius's *Seven Books Against the Pagans* (c. 418) the influence of which is difficult to overestimate.[83] Over 200 manuscripts attest to the text's popularity and the work influenced Gildas, Gregory of Tours, and Bede among others.[84] Orosius, like Eusebius, recorded God's interventions in response to persecutions and

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[78] Henry Chadwick, 'Christian Doctrine', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988), 11-20, 12-13.
[79] Chadwick, 'Christian Doctrine', 17-18 which points to early precedents for Christian contributions to imperial defence and military service. 'Let every soul be subject to higher powers. For there is no power but from God: and those that are ordained of God'. Matthew 22:21 is cited above.
[80] Eusebius, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* (Harmondsworth, 1968), 16. Seven primary Greek manuscripts also date from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries.
[81] Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 18; Chadwick, 'Christian Doctrine', 18-19
[82] Eusebius, *History of the Church*, 206-207, 319, 327, 347-348.
[83] Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 64-69; Sønnesyn, *Ethics of History*, 81 points out that William of Malmesbury copied out Orosius's history into the compendium now known as the Seldon manuscript.
[84] Orosius, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, trans. Andrew Fear (Liverpool, 2010), 25.

lapses in morality, with faith and virtuous moral conduct rewarded with military victory.[85] Theodosius provided Orosius's most detailed example: through a Christ-like demonstration of piety and prayer, Theodosius's reverence caused his opponents to switch sides, prompted God to turn his enemies' javelins back upon themselves and to rout their army. This victory was celebrated as a perfect example of a conflict ended by Divine Aid, goodwill, and (somewhat surprisingly) a lack of bloodshed.[86] Orosius demonstrated through similar examples how prayers could determine the outcome of battles and how victories could be achieved by kings soliciting divine intervention or, in one case, by appealing to saints such as Ambrose of Milan.[87]

The works of Orosius and Eusebius both highlight the importance of biblical models, but also departed from them. Orosius, in particular, highlighted how bloodless victories were achieved through prayers, fasts, vigils, and the merits of saints: divine aid here led to mass surrender rather than mass slaughter. God's military assistance could be secured through royal piety and by kings associating themselves with saints, but, crucially, the loss of wise or holy company also resulted in defeat.[88] As Gerald of Wales summarised, 'if you look through the entire Old Testament and then consider the history of more recent times... you will always find that victory has been won, not by superior numbers of men or military resources, but by superiority in virtue and by grace of God'.[89] Eusebius and Orosius showed that the Old Testament patterns of divine interventions could well be repeated in more recent events, but added a caveat that such victories were achieved without bloodshed.

Patristic transmission and adaptation: Augustine of Hippo and Ambrose of Milan

[85] Orosius, *History*, 8-9; For example, Nero's execution of Peter and Paul is linked to plague and Boudicca's rebellion, the persecutions of Aurelius, Severus, and Trajan to plague, rebellion, and childlessness. Arian influence is cited as the cause of a huge earthquake and military defeat at Adrianople while Constantine's conversion gains him military victory, and the growth of Constantinople, and the faith and piety of Gratian and Honorius sees them achieve similiar victories; Orosius, *History*, 122-123, 181-182, 333-411; Orosius, *Liber Apologeticus contra Pelagium de Arbitrii Libertate*, ed. K. Zangemeister (Vienna, 1882), 155-156, 241-242, 453- 559.
[86] Orosius, *History*, 386-391; Orosius, *Liber Apologeticus*, 523-532.
[87] Orosius, *History*, 394-396; Orosius, *Liber Apologeticus*, 534-537 described how Mascezil recognised the decisive influence of prayers from previous conquests and was then able to conquer Africa without fighting. When faced with a vast enemy army Divine aid, merited by perso on one occasion, Ambrose appeared to him in a dream, striking the ground three times with his staff, which Mascezil realised meant his victory was assured. An enemy army of 70,000 troops is then defeated without a fight.
[88] Orosius, *History*, 394-396; Orosius, *Liber Apologeticus*, 534-537. When Mascezil's association with the saints, is lost so too is divine favour. Puffed up with arrogance, and after desecrating a church, he was killed.
[89] Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 279; Gerald, *Expugnatio*, 145.

When classical and biblical ideas were transmitted, therefore, it was not without substantial modification. This was particularly true of Augustine's *City of God*.[90] In twelfth and early thirteenth-century England, copies of this work were extant at Abingdon, Burton, Bury, Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Reading, Rochester, and Rievaulx.[91] Especially in Augustine's case, however, manuscript evidence alone distorts the depth of his influence, with passages of his text read at several removes as part of the more fundamental political and ideological inheritance of Late Antiquity.[92]

While Augustine engaged with classical thought in greater depth than any previous Christian author, his work also marked several notable departures. As well as correcting Rome's triumphant self-image and bequeathing the notion of the Two Cities, by contrast to Stoicism, Augustine associated all power with self-love and sin. While all authority originated with God, and must duly be obeyed, true justice was not, in fact, a possibility on Earth. Regardless of ecclesiastical oversight. Christian rulers could only achieve an approximation of the ideal.[93] Augustine's arguments had several important implications for medieval political thought. By insisting on the divine origin of power, he characterised wicked rulers as instruments of divine punishment who must nonetheless be obeyed.[94] Augustine also emphasised that rulers should be judged by the same moral standards as any other Christian.[95] The emperor should serve the Church and provide a model of devout, merciful, and humble behaviour.[96] Theodosius was praised for his mercy, regret of bloodshed, and for aiding the Church through just and merciful laws, Augustine claiming his bishops wept at his humility.[97] Even such an impressive display, however, was 'no more than a vapour, no matter how lofty the plain at which any person lives'.[98] Although the implications

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[90] The full breath of Augustine's oeuvre was only reproduced in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. The manuscript evidence, for example for Anglo-Saxon England, can be underwhelming, although Augustine's *City of God* was available. Mary Frances Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2007), 84-87.

[91] Medieval Libraries of Great Britain database, http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/browse/A/, accessed 1 August 2018.

[92] Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture*, 84-7, for example, in the works of Bede or Ælfric of Eysham; On William of Malmesbury reading of Augustine and his political thought see Sønnesyn, *Ethics of History,* 5. 25-26, 35-38, 46, 51, 55, 76, 79-83, 121-122, 134, 140, 143, 152-153, 250, 259.

[93] R. W. Dyson, *St. Augustine of Hippo: The Christian Transformation of Political Philosophy* (London, 2005), 68-69.

[94] Dyson, *St. Augustine*, 72, 75-77.

[95] Dyson, *St. Augustine*, 142-143.

[96] Dyson, *St. Augustine*, 154-156; Herbert A. Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St Augustine* (New York, 1963), 131, 133-138; John Neville Figgis, *The Political Aspects of S. Augustine's City of God* (Gloucester Mass, 1963), 83.

[97] Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God*, ed. and trans. various 7 vols (Cambridge, MA, 1957-1972), 2: 270-271.

[98] Augustine of Hippo, *City of God*, 2: 272-273.

of Augustine's pessimism were often ignored, his portrayal of the ideal Christian ruler, and his focus on humility and subjection to God, proved formative for later authors.[99]

Augustine, building on Cicero, also provided a highly influential framework for the definition of just war. Warfare, despite its sinful nature, was a necessary tool of correction and could be justified if defensive, restrained, and fought by a public authority to remedy injustice.[100] While campaigns commissioned by God, such as those in the Old Testament, were virtuous by definition, Augustine urged rulers to aim for the correction of their opponents and the establishment of a merciful and honourable peace.[101] This notion of warfare as a necessary act, but one which should be prosecuted with restraint, aimed at the correction of sin, would prove crucial to how the *vitae* and *gesta* portrayed kings and bishops on military campaigns.

The importance of Augustine's friend and inspiration, Ambrose of Milan, lies both in the example he provided when defending the Church against imperial interference, and in his application of Ciceronian ideals to biblical *exempla*. Ambrose's own actions highlighted how a bishop should correct the emperor, treating him in doing so just like any other layman in need of pastoral discipline. The most famous incident saw Ambrose rebuke Emperor Theodosius (r. 347-395) for massacring the population of Thessalonica in reprisal for the murder of a Gothic army officer. Ambrose refused the emperor communion, only readmitting him to the Church after nine months of penance. In a letter to Theodosius, the bishop cited Ezekiel 33:7, explaining his duty to speak out with reference to the example of Nathan's correction of David.[102] The ideal of a virtuous and humble ruler, willing to heed episcopal admonition and to undergo penance if required, recurred throughout Ambrose's writings, especially in his letters and in his tract *De Apologia prophetae Dauid*, both of which were known in the twelfth century.[103] Becket's letter of admonition to Henry II in 1166 was indeed

[99] Figgis, *The Political Aspects*, 83-84 noted the *Fürstenspiegel*'s importance as a model for Einhard.
[100] Dyson, *St. Augustine*, 117, 123, 127.
[101] Dyson, *St. Augustine*, 128-30.
[102] R.A. Markus, 'The Latin Fathers', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988), 92-122, at 95; *Ambrose of Milan: Political Letters and Speeches*, trans. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz (Liverpool, 2010), 262-269.
[103] Markus, 'Latin Fathers', 95-9. On reception see Sarah Hamilton, 'A New Model for Royal Penance? Helgaud of Fleury's Life of Robert the Pious', *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997), 189-200; Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, c. 900 – 1050* (London, 2001), 174-82; Giorgia Vocino, 'Bishops in the Mirror: from Self-representation to Episcopal Model. The Case of the Eloquent Bishops Ambrose of Milan and Gregory the Great', in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. Rob Meens (Manchester, 2016), 331-349; Medieval Libraries of Great Britain database,

modelled both on Ambrose's letter and on the examples of Nathan and David that he cited.[104] Ambrose's model was also invoked by Pope Gregory VII and Gratian when discussing ecclesiastical oversight of kings, while Rudolf Schieffer has drawn attention to the extensive memory of Ambrose's actions more generally.[105]

The influence of Ambrose's adaptation of Cicero's *De Officiis* was less extensive, but by no means negligible. Ambrose's version was never widely known, but its dissemination increased in the High Middle Ages.[106] William of Malmesbury recognised the relationship between Ambrose and Cicero and drew upon both.[107] In the mid-twelfth century, copies of Ambrose's text existed at Canterbury, Bury, Exeter, Rochester, Hereford, and Lincoln.[108] Becket himself bequeathed a copy to Christ Church, and the text was quoted extensively by supporters of Gregory VII.[109] A passage, emphasising the importance of amiability to good rulership, was even quoted by Gerald of Wales in his *De Instructione*.[110]

Ambrose's adaptation transformed Cicero's original into a handbook for the clergy, emphasising the importance of courtesy, forbearance, and restraint.[111] The text provided a further route for the transmission of Ciceronian ideals, now combined by Ambrose with biblical values of humility, charity, and self-denial. Where Cicero had addressed his son, Ambrose spoke to his spiritual children, the Milanese clergy, using biblical examples to demonstrate the importance of self-mastery.[112] For Ambrose, King David provided an exemplar of prudence, justice, and temperance. Real courage lay in containing one's anger

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http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/browse/A/, accessed 1 August 2018 shows that in twelfth-century England copies of Ambrose's letters were at Bury, Rochester, and Rievaulx, as was the *De Apologia* at Bury.

[104] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 122, 125-127.

[105] Rudolf Schieffer, 'Von Mailand nach Canossa: ein Beitrag zur Geschischte der christlichen Herrscherbusse von Theodosius der Grosse bis zu Heinrich IV', *Deutsches Archiv* 28 (1972), 333–370; Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 122-123.

[106] Ambrose, *De Officiis*, ed. Ivor J. Davidson (Oxford, 2001), 96-104; Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture*, 87. From the eleventh and twelfth centuries, scattered references are found and the text was used by Bernard of Clairvaux and Aelred of Rievaulx to outline ideas of friendship.

[107] Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 16, 41, 48, 203.

[108] Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools*, 92-93 who notes that John of Salisbury seems to have ignored it for his own work.

[109] Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools*, 92-93.

[110] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 103.

[111] Ambrose, *De Officiis*, 1. Despite often being referred to as *De Officiis Ministrorum*, the text is in fact titled *De officiis* and was referred to as such by Augustine, Cassidorus and a Carolingian biographer of Ambrose.

[112] Ambrose, *De Officiis*, 15-25, 29, 59-60, 65-77, 85-87, 124-127, 160-163, 166-169, 170-171, 174-175; Cf. Marcia L. Colish, 'Cicero, Ambrose, and Stoic Ethics: Transmission or Transformation?', in *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Bernardo (Binghamton, 1990), 95-112, esp. 95-105; Ivor J. Davidson, 'A Tale of Two Approaches: Ambrose, De Officiis 1.1-22 and Cicero, De Officiis 1.1-6', *Journal of Theological Studies* 52 (2002), 61-83.

and resisting the temptation to respond in kind. Silence and forbearance were the true weapons of the just man.[113] Ambrose praised David's self-restraint when insulted by a courtier. Retaliation would have implied guilt and, as David had lived long before Cicero's classical *exempla*, the king's conduct was all the more praiseworthy.[114] Affability was especially to be praised, Ambrose argued, 'in the case of kings', where 'an affable and courteous manner has often proved to be of great value', whereas 'pride and conceited language have frequently done tremendous harm, causing entire kingdoms to fall'.[115] Humility towards one's subjects, and the heeding of a virtuous and reliable counsellor, was thus judged as central to the proper exercise of power.[116] Although it would be his famous admonition to Theodosius, and the emperor's subsequent penance, that would be best remembered in the Middle Ages, Ambrose also demonstrated the applicability of Ciceronian values to clerical behaviour long before the advent of the cathedral schools.

Defining correction and admonition: Gregory the Great and Isidore of Seville

Ambrose's *De Officiis* was quickly superseded by a far more popular treatise on clerical behaviour: Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care.* This profoundly influenced later portrayals of royal and episcopal behaviour. Gregory's text is especially important for its detailed discussion of admonition and the means by which it should be pursued.[117] Errors committed out of ignorance or weakness should be criticised modestly, the *rector* bearing in mind their own faults.[118] The *rector* must remember not to criticise excessively, lest the sinner become depressed and angry.[119] A vice might be overlooked, Gregory suggested, if the sinner was embarrassed and became his own judge. Some sins could be gently amended, even tolerated if circumstances did not allow for proper correction, just as wounds are made worse by untimely surgery.[120] Other sins must be vehemently rebuked, and the sinner made aware of

[113] Ambrose, *De Officiis,* 124-129, 182-185, 196-197, 222-223, 252-255 including on importance of justice in warfare.
[114] Ambrose, *De Officiis,* 128-131, 134-135.
[115] Ambrose, *De Officiis,* 284-285.
[116] Ambrose, *De Officiis,* 288-289, 290-293.
[117] Gregory the Great, *The Book of the Pastoral Rule,* trans. George E. Demacopoulos (New York, 2007), 77-83; Grégoire le Grand, *Règle Pastorale*, ed. and trans. Floribert Rommel and Charles Morel 2 vols. (Paris, 1992), 1: 238-240.
[118] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 80; *Règle Pastorale*, 1: 244.
[119] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 82-83; *Règle Pastorale*, 1: 252.
[120] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 78; *Règle Pastorale*, 1: 240.

the gravity of their mistake.[121] Hidden vices should be investigated by the *rector* through careful questioning and timely correction.[122]

This concern with effective admonition is especially striking in the third section of the *Pastoral Care,* which enumerated 39 types of sinners, and their opposites, recommending how each should be corrected. For example, the young should be rebuked severely whereas the elderly require more gentle entreaties.[123] No special favours should be accorded to the rich and the arrogant when offering criticism as they are already swelled with pride.[124] Rage should be mitigated by gentleness, just as David had soothed Saul with a harp, an example highly applicable to critics admonishing enraged rulers.[125] Similarly, rulers might be corrected by initially disguising the target of criticism: they should be made to criticise their own faults indirectly because a mind 'elated by temporal authority cannot reject a judgement against itself'.[126] Gregory used an example from the Book of Kings to demonstrate this, explaining how Nathan had reproved David using the parable of a poor and rich man. By adopting this approach, Nathan had recognised David's royal, as well as sinful, status, devising a 'marvellous plan' to bind him by his confession, before delivering the rebuke. By concealing his target before the strike, Nathan had made his admonition more effective than 'if he had chosen to crush the sin openly from his very first words'.[127] For Gregory, Nathan was thus like a physician, concealing the scalpel until the final moment in case the patient refused the treatment.[128]

Gregory went on to suggest that subordinates should not judge their leaders too quickly nor act too boldly if they witnessed reprehensible actions. Their attitude towards the powerful must be constrained by their fear of God, from whom all authority derived.[129] Once

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[121] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 80; *Règle Pastorale*, 1: 244.
[122] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 77-78; *Règle Pastorale*, 1: 240.
[123] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 90; *Règle Pastorale*, 2: 268.
[124] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 90-91; *Règle Pastorale*, 2: 268-271.
[125] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 91-92; *Règle Pastorale*, 2: 270-272.
[126] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 92; *Règle Pastorale*, 2: 272 'ut mens temporali potentia tumida contra corripientem nequaquam se erigat, quae suo sibi iudicio superbiae ceruicem calcat'.
[127] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 92; *Règle Pastorale*, 2: 272 'Pigrius enim fortasse incideret, si ab ipso sermonis exordio aperte culpam ferire uoluisset, sed praemissa similitudine, eam quam occultabat exacuit increpationem'.
[128] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 92; *Règle Pastorale*, 2: 272. We have encountered already the metaphor of the physician, doctor, and surgeon in Seneca's *De Clementia.* No doubt in part thanks to the influence of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, this imagery proved influential as pointed out in Björn Weiler, 'Clerical Admonitio letters of advice to kings, and episcopal self-fashioning, c. 1000-1200', *History* 102:352 (2017), 557-575, at 559; Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 277-278 notes a similiar use of imagery by Macrobius to describe the role of a prophet. , Macrobius described the role of the prophets as being to use their prudence to explain the past, present, and future, citing Vergil and Homer to demonstrate that their role was analogous to that of the doctor.
[129] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 95-6; *Règle Pastorale,* 2: 280-283.

again, an example from the Book of Kings was used: David, ignoring the advice of his men, had only to cut off a piece of Saul's robe rather than lay hands on the Lord's Anointed. For Gregory, this symbolised the attitude a good subject should adopt towards even a sinful ruler.[130] Pious subordinates should thus:

> 'keep themselves from every form of disparagement and never strike their leader's way of life with the sword of their tongue, even when they are criticising him for his imperfections'.[131]

Instead, they should 'blamelessly and quietly criticise the dignity of their leader' and, even then, reprimand themselves for the offence thus done to God.[132] Even while Gregory stressed that rulers could only be disciplined by God, and not by their subjects, he also pointed out how David had listened humbly to a subordinate's rebuke, displaying the correct behaviour of a *rector* who accepts sincere criticism.[133] Gregory noted that the *rector* himself must choose an opportunity to admonish carefully; excessive and incorrect speech would negate the benefit of correction.[134] He should also be compassionate, sympathetic, and kind enough for a subject to disclose willingly any secrets.[135] While a *rector* must be cautious in speech, he must never, by his silence, leave sinners uncorrected, Gregory pointing out how God condemned the false prophets who had damned the Israelites by not offering correction.[136] Those who did not correct their subjects were 'not shepherds, but hirelings': a priest should act as a herald, calling out sin, and would die if he refused to do so.[137] Like the multi-eyed creatures of Heaven, they must constantly examine their flock at all times.[138]

These lessons were not exclusive to the clergy, but applied to all with a responsibility to correct their subjects. Both bishops and kings held a *ministerium* and were responsible for the correction of their flock, the *curia regiminis* being synonymous with the *cura pastoralis*.[139] A bad *rector,* whether royal or episcopal, would pollute his flock, with terrible

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[130] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 96; *Règle Pastorale*, 2: 280.
[131] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 96; *Règle Pastorale*, 2: 280-282 'Quem tamen Dauid ferire metuit, quia piae subditorum mentes ab omni se peste obtrectationis abstinentes, praepositorum uitam nullo linguae gladio percutiunt, etiam cum de imperfectione reprehendunt'.
[132] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 96-97; *Règle Pastorale*, 2: 282 'sed tamen humiliter loquantur, quasi oram chlamydis silenter incidunt'.
[133] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 75; *Règle Pastorale*, 1: 234.
[134] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 54-58; *Règle Pastorale,* 1: 186-188.
[135] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 60; *Règle Pastorale*, 1: 200-202.
[136] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 55; *Règle Pastorale*, 1:188.
[137] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 55-56; *Règle Pastorale,* 1:188 'nequaquam iam gregis custodia pastorum studio, sed mercennariorum uice deseruiunt'.
[138] *Book of the Pastoral Rule,* 95; *Règle Pastorale*, 2: 280.
[139] Markus, 'Latin Fathers', 119-120.

consequences.[140] Rulers should furthermore only use fear as a tool of correction, should not demand too much of their subjects, and must guard their own virtue because of the example they set.[141] Gregory's ideas reflected a paternalistic notion of rulership, one which reflected the image promulgated by St Benedict of abbatial authority, but which was also firmly rooted in a classical tradition.

The pervasive influence of the *Pastoral Care* is difficult to overestimate. Peter Brown claimed it 'had the clarity and cutting edge of an industrial tool': it has been described as the 'closest thing to (a) standardised text on episcopal conduct the Middle Ages possessed', with no patristic or medieval rival.[142] Brown concluded Gregory had created a pan-European language of power, the notion of the admonishing *rector* spreading across different political systems, with the tract proving a 'book for all occasions'.[143] Augustine of Canterbury took a copy to England, where, three centuries later, it was translated and paraphrased at King Alfred's command.[144] Bede admonished the archbishop of York to fill his mind and speech with the *Pastoral Care*, and recorded how Pope Honorius exhorted King Edwin to read

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[140] *Book of the Pastoral Rule*, 32-36, 41-43 ; *Règle Pastorale*, 1: 136-144, 156-160.
[141] *Book of the Pastoral Rule*, 93-95; *Règle Pastorale*, 2: 273-280.
[142] Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 2003), 209, 211; John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones, 'Introduction: The Bishop Reformed', in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Aldershot, 2007), 1-20, at 6; On the influence of Gregory's admonitory model see especially Monika Suchan, *Mahnen und Regieren: Die Metapher des Hirten im früheren Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2015), 90-232 which traces its influence in Anglo-Saxon England and its development at the Carolingian court, facilitated by Anglo-Saxon scholars including St Boniface. See also Heinz Hürten, 'Gregor der Große und der mittelalterliche Episkopat', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 73 (1962), 16–41 which contrasted Gregory's ideals with the secular activities of the German episcopate and suggested that Gregory's model reached its zenith with the Carolingians. On the dissemination of the *Pastoral Care*, see Heinz Hürten, 'Die Verbindung von geistlicher und weltlicher Gewalt in der Amtsführung des mittelalterlichen deutschen Bischofs', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 82 (1971), 16-28; Heinz Hanspeter, 'Der Bischofsspiegel des Mittelalters. Zur Regula Pastoralis Gregors des Grossen', in *Sendung und Dienst im bischöflichen Amt*: *Festschrift der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Augsburg für Bischof Josef Stimpfle zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Anton Ziegenaus (St. Ottilien, 1991), 113-136; On Gregory's influence in general see Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 400-403; Studies focusing on the High Middle Ages are far rarer: E. A. Matter, 'Gregory the Great in the Twelfth Century: the Glossa Ordinaria', in *Gregory the Great. A Symposium*, ed. J. C. Cavadini (Notre Dame, 1995), 216-226; For the presence of Gregory's writings in tenth and eleventh-century Trier and Cologne, see Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination. An Historical Study*, 2 vols (London, 1991), 2: 104-106, 116-123, 205-210; and for the influence of his ideas during the Investiture Contest, Ian Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester, 1978), 22-24, 31-39, 139-142, 216-226.
[143] Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom*, 211-212.
[144] On its influence during Alfred's reign see David Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge, 2007), 134-151; Matthew Kempshall, 'No bishop, No King: the Ministerial Ideology of Kingship and Asser's Res Gestae Aelfredi', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford, 2001), 106-127; Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture*, 50; Both Pratt and Kempshall have highlighted the pervasive influence of Gregory's text and the difficulties which arise in distinguishing that influence from Carolingian models, with Pratt especially arguing that a focus on Carolingian influence has obscured insular developments in political thought.

Gregory's works frequently.[145] Alcuin insisted that prelates should always have a copy at their side and should read it often as a handbook for episcopal conduct.[146] Similar instructions went out from Church councils. Thegan of Trier (800 - c. 850) cited it as the touchstone of a good bishop, and Hincmar of Rheims used it to examine the suitability of episcopal candidates and argued it should guide their conduct.[147] The work became central to the conceptualisation of royal and episcopal duties and was partly responsible for an elision between the two.[148]

In terms of engagement in the twelfth century, the text survives in nearly 500 manuscripts, including 11 copies from twelfth-century England, a further 9 from the preceding century, with manuscripts held at Rochester, Worcester, Waltham, Bury, Rievaulx, Peterborough, Glastonbury, Reading, and Malmesbury.[149] In Germany and Switzerland, we find 16 twelfth-century manuscripts and 21 from the early medieval period.[150] The text was well-known to authors of *vitae* and *gesta*. William of Malmesbury was heavily influenced by all of Gregory's works, and Ian Robinson has drawn attention to how Gregory's ideas were used by the supporters of Henry IV and Gregory VII.[151] Stephanie Haarländer has highlighted multiple examples where German *vitae* were influenced by the *Pastoral Care*.[152] Adam of Eynsham, and the authors of the *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*, and the *Vita Lietberti*, also drew upon it.[153] More strikingly, authors dwelt on the *Pastoral Care* itself and Gregory's example: the importance of varying one's manner of preaching, in Gregorian style, was cited by Bede and Henry of Huntingdon.[154] Adam of Bremen described how St Rimbert (830-888)

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[145] Kempshall, 'No Bishop, No King', 111-112.
[146] Kempshall, 'No Bishop, No King', 111-112.
[147] Kempshall, 'No Bishop, No King', 111.
[148] Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture*, 50; Kempshall, 'No Bishop, No King', 107 which argued that recognising 'the proximity, even equivalence, of royal and episcopal ideology is one vital means of avoiding any anachronistic separation of temporal from spiritual authority in early medieval society'.
[149] Medieval Libraries of Great Britain database, http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/browse/G/, accessed 01/08/2018.
[150] Richard W. Clement, 'A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Gregory's Regula Pastoralis', *Manuscripta* 28 (1984), 33-44.
[151] On William of Malmesbury's reading of Gregory I and his works, Sønnesyn, *Ethics of History*, 5, 24, 82-83, 89-90, 128-129, 153-154, 169, 182, 261; Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 42, 78; Robinson, *Authority and Resistance*, 136-142; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 2: 55.
[152] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 239, 241, 259-262, 323, 331.
[153] John S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community in North-Western Europe, c.1050-1150* (New York, 2015), 200 on the *Vita Lietberti* who suggests in general 'most clergy and bishops would have read Gregory the Great's Liber pastoralis'; Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: xiv-xv; *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai: Translation and Commentary*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach, David S. Bachrach, and Michael Leese (New York, 2018), xiv, 12 and cited at 105.
[154] Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 394, 401.

selected certain sayings of Saint Gregory and copied them with his own hand.[155] Henry Mayr-Harting suggested that Hugh of Lincoln modelled his conduct on Gregory's precepts, especially his advice to adapt criticism to different orders of society.[156] Gregory's works were central to the education and reading of both Hugh and his biographer, Adam of Eynsham, whose *Magna Vita* described how, during a visit to Cluny, the bishop was especially pleased that his reception included one of the brethren reading a chapter from the *Pastoral Care*.[157] Richard Southern also suggested that the work taught Anselm how to approach his archiepiscopal duties. Eadmer even preserved a Latin summary of a sermon, possibly preached by the archbishop at a royal council, which urged a revival of Anglo-Saxon celebrations of St Gregory.[158] Becket, in turn, invoked Gregory as Canterbury's patron and quoted him in his correspondence.[159] Intriguingly, Gregory's example was used to criticise the manner of Becket's opposition to Henry II: William of Newburgh reproached Becket for the 'slightly excessive force of [his] praiseworthy zeal' and suggested that 'Pope Gregory would have acted more softly towards the king's reconciliation', by recognising the importance of compromise and timing.[160]

David Hipshon argued that this Gregorian view 'provided a foundation for a marriage between two authorities which proved so fruitful to secular rulers and ecclesiastics alike', but qualifies this as being only true 'before the eleventh century'. Heinz Hürten went further and expressed considerable doubts as to Gregory's influence on the medieval episcopate more generally.[161] In fact Gregory's ideas and texts, especially on admonition, resonated with our

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[155] Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan, ed. Timothy Reuter (New York, 2002), 42.
[156] Henry Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society in the Medieval West, 600-1200* (Aldershot, 2010), 198-199; Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Hugh of Lincoln (1140? – 1200)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14060 accessed 01/08/2018.
[157] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 176.
[158] Richard Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer* (Cambridge, 2009), 235, 307, 386-389; For a different interpretation of the sermon see Paul Hayward, 'Gregory the Great as 'Apostle of the English' in Post-Conquest Canterbury', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55 (2004), 19-57.
[159] *CTB* 1: 309.
[160] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 242 for the translation who noted that William of Newburgh may have been thinking here of Gregory's instructions to the missionaries sent to convert the English. Newburgh's example here would equally, however, accord with the emphasis on restraint and circumstance discussed above; William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett (London, 1884-9), 1: 160-161. 'Puto tamen quod beatissimus papa Gregorius in molli adhuc teneraque regis concordia mitius egisset. . . Itaque quod a venerabili pontifice tunc actum est nec laudandum ese iudico, nec vituperare praesumo; sed dico quia si vel modice in huiusmodi a sancto viro per zeli laudabilis paulo immoderatiorem impetum est excessum...'
[161] David Hipshon, 'Gregory the Great's "Political Thought"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53:3 (2002), 439-453, at 453.

authors and no less so in the twelfth century. This influence is especially important with regard to the detailed guidance provided on admonition of the powerful, in addition to the less novel material concerning the moral dangers of governance and the ruler's duty to benefit his subjects.

Gregory's ideas gained further momentum through their pithy reformulation by Isidore of Seville as well as through their adaptation into a view of Visigothic kingship that stressed that kings ruled only to benefit the Church.[162] Isidore had defined kings by their duty to correct: a king who does not correct, does not rule (*non autem regit, qui non corrigit*).[163] As with the biblical examples discussed above, the popularity of Isidore's famous etymologization of kings perhaps owed much to the fact that it encapsulated a deeper intellectual tradition, one most vividly expressed by Gregory the Great, but one which also had clear patristic and classical antecedents. In his *Etymologies* and his own handbook on clerical behaviour, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis,* Isidore similarly reminded readers that it was an episcopal duty to 'admonish each by diverse exhortation according to the quality of profession... He [the bishop] should find out in advance what he should offer to whom, when, and how'.[164] As with kings, Isidore recalled the etymological origins of the prophets and episcopate: a bishop was a *speculator,* the Latin for Greek *episcopus*, who should keep watch (*speculari*) and oversee (*praespicere*) the behaviour of his flock.[165] The duty to admonish was thus tied to episcopal office itself, while Isidore's definition of *rex* proved highly influential, not least in arguments in the late eleventh-century Empire regarding Henry IV's suitability to rule.[166] Isidore's texts, and especially his *Etymologies*, highly influential and popular in their own right, thus placed Gregory's emphasis on correction at very heart of how royal and episcopal authority was defined in the High Middle Ages.[167]

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[162] P. D. King, 'The Barbarian Kings', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988), 123-154, at 141-44.
[163] *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri XX,* ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), 9.3.
[164] Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis,* trans. Thomas L. Knoebel (New York, 2008), 75-76.
[165] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville,* trans. Stephen A. Barney (New York, 2008), VII; *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum*, 7.12.12.
[166] Robinson, *Authority and Resistance,* 132-133.
[167] *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Andrew T. Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam, 2016); Isidore's *Etymologies* were avaliable at Abingdhof abbey and cited in the *Vita Meinwerci*, 34, 86 n. 181; Copies of Isidore's *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* were available in the early thirteenth century in Evesham and Flaxley and the *Etymologies* at Bridlington, Waltham: Catalogue, Bury, Glastonbury, Reading, Rochester, Whitby, Christ Church, Welbeck, and Rievaulx. Medieval Libraries of Great Britain database, http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/browse/IJ/, accessed 01/08/2018.

The consequences of royal and episcopal behaviour: *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*

The final text to consider in this section is the *Twelve Abuses of the Age*, a seventh-century treatise on social and political morality variously ascribed to Cyprian, Augustine, and Patrick, probably dated to 630-650. The work is primarily known to modern scholars as the Pseudo-Cyprian *Abuses* and will be referred to as such in what follows. The text drew upon the Bible, Ambrose, Augustine, Rufinus, and Gregory the Great.[168] The *Abuses* explain how individual sin can upset the entire cosmos, the withdrawal of divine favour leading to natural, social, economic, and political disaster. The text lists twelve forms of negative behaviour, including the unjust king and the negligent bishop.

The section on the unjust king proved the most influential and was, tellingly, the only abuse to claim cosmological significance. The *Abuses* emphasised following Isidore and Gregory, the duty of a king to correct himself before others; if he failed to enforce justice, he would be responsible for the sin of his people.[169] The injunctions are a familiar combination of instruction on personal conduct, control of one's self and household, oversight of the realm and justice, and defence of the Church. Fulfilling these precepts brings the kingdom prosperity, pleasant weather, fertile lands, peaceful seas, and the monarch's entry to Heaven. An unjust king, by contrast, causes natural disasters, the death of loved ones, the destruction of peace, and the threat of invasion. Royal sin, and the failure to correct it, thus unsettled the cosmos and, as in the Old Testament, condemned entire dynasties.[170] Closely related was the neglectful bishop. Like Isidore, the author noted the Greek origin of *episcopus* and cited Ezekiel 33:7.[171] The author also used Matthew 18:15-17 to describe how admonition should take place: if a brother sins, one should rebuke him alone at first, then before witnesses, and, if he still persisted, before the entire community. Any bishop who failed to admonish or teach his subjects was unworthy of the name and would face God's wrath.

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[168] *Two Ælfric Texts: The Twelve Abuses and The Vices and Virtues*, ed. and trans. Mary Clayton (Cambridge, 2013), 39-50; Grigg, 'The Just King', 27-52; Mary Clayton, 'De Duodecim Abusiuis, Lordship and Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Saints and scholars: Saints and Scholars: New Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture in Honour of Hugh Magennis*, ed. Stuart McWilliams (Cambridge, 2012), 141-163, at 143.

[169] The most recent edition is Aidan Breen,'Towards a Critical Edition of De XII Abusivis: Introductory Essays with a Provisional Edition of the Text and Accompanied by an English Translation', PhD, Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland) 1988 available at http://www.tara.tcd.ie/handle/2262/77107 accessed 01/08/2018 [Hereafter Breen, *Abuses*].

[170] Breen, *Abuses*, 400-409; Rob Meens, 'Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-being of the Realm', *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998), 345–357, at 351; Aidan Breen, 'Pseudo-Cyprian De Duodecim Abusivis Saeculi and the Bible', in *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmissions*, ed. Michael Richter (Stuttgart, 1987), 230-245.

[171] Breen, *Abuses*, 410-419.

Aside from the Bible, the *Abuses* was by some measure the most popular text surveyed here among twelfth-century readers,[172] cited, among others, by Adelard, Ivo of Chartres, Gratian, and in the *Corpus iuris canonici*.[173] A tally of 400 manuscripts has been described as a 'gross underestimate'.[174] The treatise is well represented in medieval library catalogues, with several copies known to have circulated in eleventh and twelfth-century England.[175] The conflicts of Henry IV's reign saw both sides draw on the idea of the unjust king, a definition described as 'one of the most profoundly influential formulations of Christian political obligation in the entire Middle Ages'.[176] The 'unjust king' circulated both in the treatise itself and within the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, a collection of canon law, excerpts and decrees popular both on the continent and in Anglo-Saxon England.[177] The formulation's popularity is clear from the speed with which it became central to discussions of kingship in a wide variety of contexts and genres. It was invoked, for instance, by clerics writing to Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian kings and by scholars composing tracts on the nature of royal office.[178]

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[172] Hans Hubert Anton, 'Pseudo-Cyprian: De duodecim Abusivis Saeculi und sein Einfluss auf den Kontinent, insbesondere auf die Karolingischen Fürstenspiegel', in *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter vol 2*, ed. Heinz Löwe (Stuttgart, 1982), 568–617; Hans Hubert Anton, 'Zu neueren Wertung Pseudo-Cyprians ('De duodecim abusivis saeculi') und zu seinem Vorkommen in Bibliothekskatalogen des Mittelalters', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 51 (1989), 463-474.

[173] Siegmund Hellmann, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* vol. 34:1, ed. Siegmund Hellman (Leipzig, 1909), 16-25 on the tract's influence, with quotation at 19; See also Mario Esposito, 'Notes on Latin Learning and Literature in Medieval Ireland – III', reprinted in *Latin Learning in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Michael Lapidge (London, 1988), 221-249; H. F. Von Soden, *Die cyprianische Briefsammlung, Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und Überlieferung* (Leipzig, 1904), 223-224. To give a sense of the manuscripts possible avaliability in twelfth-century England and Germany, the following represents a list of twelfth-century copies, associated with England and Germany, using a combination of the lists provided by Breen, Hellmann, Soden, and Esposito: Admont, 269; Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1691; Bern, Bongarsische Bibl. 618; British Library Harley 3027; British Library Royal 6.B.XIII; British Library Royal 5.F. X; Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 204; Cambridge University Library, Ii. 4. 31; Cambridge, Trinity College, 1076 (originally from Byland Abbey, Yorkshire); Canon. Patr. Lat. 49; Cologne, Dombibliothek, 173; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek. 196; Erfurt Amplon. Bibl. Oct. 32; Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, 237; Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, 187 (written 1146/1155); Metz, 138; Munich, Staatsbibliothek, 4616; Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, quart. Cod. ms. 9; Oxford, Bodleian Library 800; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canoniciani Patristici Latini 49; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Miscellaneous 350; Oxford, New College 140; Salisbury Sarum Cathedral Library 168; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2090 (written 1160/1165).

[174] Breen, *Abuses*, on manuscript distribution and *Nachleben*, 233-235, 241-261, at 234 where, after reaching a count of some 400 MSS, the author concluded 'I had to stop before I ended up in a madhouse'.

[175] *Two Ælfric Texts*, 50-52, 55; Clayton, 'De Duodecim Abusiuis', 144, 162-163. See Breen, *Abuses*, 246 for specific suggestion it was at Bury St Edmunds in the twelfth century.

[176] Ian Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (Cambridge, 1999), 347-348; Clayton, 'De Duodecim Abusiuis', 148-149.

[177] *Two Ælfric Texts*, 52.

[178] *Two Ælfric Texts*, 52-3; Clayton, 'De Duodecim Abusiuis', 149-152.

The tract, as Mary Clayton has shown, made an especially strong impact in Anglo-Saxon England, despite the fact that no pre-conquest manuscripts now survive.[179] It influenced early medieval coronation rites, including the first English coronation *ordo*, and was used by Oda, archbishop of Canterbury for his *Constitutions*.[180] A copy of the *Abuses* was donated to Peterborough Abbey by Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester and the tract may have influenced a *Life of Swithun*, written c. 1000, which tied King Edgar's rule to the realm's wider fortunes.[181] Ælfric of Eynsham also used the *Abuses* in his *Catholic Homilies*, to discuss the etymology of *episcopus* and to emphasise the importance of wisdom to good kingship.[182] The same text listed a catalogue of misfortunes, reminiscent of the ninth abuses, comparing them to Israel and the perils of national disobedience, a parallel Ælfric later evoked for England.[183] Ælfric's interest even extended to producing an Old English translation, six manuscripts of which are extant from the eleventh and twelfth centuries alongside two, now lost, associated at times with Canterbury, Bury St Edmunds, Worcester, and Rochester.[184] As Levi Roach noted, the work was clearly popular in reforming circles around Æthelred II and the *Abuses*'s disasters must have appeared like a catalogue of recent events when Ælfric translated the work (c. 995).[185] Ælfric's version devoted more space to the ninth abuse than the Latin original, emphasising the importance of royal wisdom, royal elections, and citing books which Ælfric claimed illustrated the king would be humiliated and punished if he failed to uphold justice.[186] The tract's section on prosperity was also shortened, and that on misfortune elaborated. The text provided a means for Ælfric to blame royal sin, ineptitude, and lack of wisdom for the country's plight.[187] Ælfric's treatment of the abuse of the negligent bishop will be discussed below.

While the profound influence of the ninth abuse, and the popularity of the text as a whole, has been well recognised, discussions of it have so far focused on the Early Middle

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[179] *Two Ælfric Texts,* 52
[180] Janet Nelson, 'The Earliest Surviving Royal Ordo: Some Liturgical and Historical Aspects', reprinted in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), 341-360 at 351; Clayton, 'De Duodecim Abusiuis', 161-162.
[181] Clayton, 'De Duodecim Abusiuis', 144, 161 who pointed out that the *Life of Swithun* does so, without parallel in the known sources.
[182] Clayton, 'De Duodecim Abusiuis', 153-155.
[183] Clayton, 'De Duodecim Abusiuis', 153, 156.
[184] *Two Ælfric Texts*, 1-8. Intriguingly, one of these manuscripts appears to have been adapted by a late twelfth-century parish priest for sermons.
[185] Levi Roach, 'Apocalypse and Atonement in the Politics of Æthelredian England', *English Studies* 95 (2014), 733-757, at 736; Levi Roach, *Æthelred the Unready* (New Haven, 2016), 41, 113-114, 136.
[186] *Two Ælfric Texts*, 57, 66-68, 70-71, 129-131.
[187] *Two Ælfric Texts*, 159; Clayton, 'De Duodecim Abusiuis', 154-55, 161.

Ages. Indeed, Marita Blattmann contended that the metaphysical connection between royal misconduct and the people's fate, 'breaks in the last quarter of the eleventh century, abruptly and irreversibly' and that 'around 1200, kingship became earthly', when rulers could be judged by popes as sinners and by their people as tyrants.[188] Blattmann's discussion was confined to Germany, however, and, while we shall see below that the German *vitae* are noticeably reticent on any such link, the connection between royal conduct and the prosperity of the realm was very much alive and well in twelfth-century England.

Summary

Our foundational texts share fundamental similarities. Especially influential passages, such as the Ninth Abuse, Ezekiel 33:7, or Isidore's etymology of *rex*, owed their popularity to a pithy formulation of more complex values and norms, rather than to their inherent originality. Throughout these texts, the importance of character, manners, and personal conduct was emphasised. Royal sins bring disaster not only upon the individual monarch, but also on their descendants and people. Cicero and Seneca both argued for self-control, restraint, courtesy, and moderation, traits that resonated with Christian authors. Seneca, channelling Stoic tradition, highlighted the link between conduct and the realm's well-being. This theme, already apparent in biblical, classical, and Christian traditions, reached a zenith in the Pseudo-Cyprian *Abuses*. The proper conduct of war was another fundamental concern. Augustine proposed that it could be considered just if fought with restraint, and to correct sin, while the Bible, Eusebius, and Orosius provided evidence of divine intervention in warfare, enlisted variously by prophets, saints, and pious royal conduct, but with varying degrees of bloodshed. Augustine and Ambrose stressed that rulers should be judged like any other son of the Church. Gregory agreed on the duty of the powerful to offer correction, yet added important caveats regarding how subjects should criticise their superiors. Both Cicero and Seneca had emphasised the necessity of accepting criticism from virtuous companions and both advocated criticism that was restrained, courteous, and more varied than the fierce admonition offered by biblical prophets. Further differences emerge once these traditions were adapted. While Gregory's emphasis on admonition had biblical and classical antecedents, the extent of his focus on correction was novel. He used examples from the

[188] Marita Blattmann, '"Ein Unglück für sein Volk". Der Zusammenhang zwischen Fehlverhalten des Königs und Volkswohl in Quellen des 7.-12. Jahrhunderts', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 30 (1996), 80-102, at 94, 101-2. Blattmann pointed out that the *Chronica regia Colonninsis,* written in the late twelfth century, also claimed the reign of Conrad III saw fluctuating weather, climate, famine, changing fortunes of war, but that this was despite the intentions of the king and not because of his personal moral failings; he simply lacked good fortune.

Book of Kings to advocate more restrained admonition than Old Testament precedent suggested. In a departure from the classical tradition, however, and as the *Pastoral Care* and the *Abuses* made abundantly clear, admonition took on a greater theological and political importance. It was now offered not for the benefit of a statesman's moral health, but out of an obligation at the heart of royal and episcopal office, the exercise of which might determine the survival of the realm and even the order of the cosmos. In short, the biblical, classical, and early medieval traditions reviewed here, bequeathed to the High Middle Ages a focus on personal morality and manners, their link to communal prosperity or decline, and made correction and admonition the foundation of royal and episcopal office. However, while this was an inheritance common to Latin Christendom as a whole, we will see that the relative importance attached to different elements of this legacy differed considerably between twelfth-century England and Germany.

2. Traditions

Aversion to royal authority and the importance of episcopal counsel

Early Christian contempt for the world and the demands of royal government, forms a further tradition to bear in mind when analysing the high medieval portrayal of kings and bishops. The sentiment was vividly expressed in Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* (c. 524), an influential work.[189] Late Antiquity also provided examples of charismatic holy men, some of them bishops, who appeared to stand apart from the world of royal courts, while at the same time imposing their authority upon them.[190] The example most popular with a high medieval audience was provided by Sulpicius Severus's early fifth-century *Life of St Martin*, a text which proved an enduring model for later episcopal biographers.

Martin had remained an ascetic even after his elevation to the episcopate, and became involved in imperial business only reluctantly, demonstrating his continued separation from the hazards of worldly pomp by his assertiveness towards the emperor. Indeed, Severus lamented, it was a rare occurrence that 'episcopal fortitude should not have yielded to the regal flattery'.[191] After the Emperor Maximus achieved victory in civil war, Severus

[189] Chadwick, 'Christian doctrine', 20; Copies of Boethius's work were present at least at Rievaulx, Wiltham, Evesham, Bury http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/browse/B/ accessed 01/08/2018; Kempshall, *Rhetoric,* 79-80.
[190] James Howard-Johnston, 'Introduction', in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* ed. James Howard-Johnston and Paul Hayward (Oxford, 2002), 1-26, at 2-3; Peter Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), 80-101.
[191] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini,* ed. and trans. Philip Burton (Oxford, 2017), 116-117.

condemned the flattery of Martin's fellow bishops and how 'a mood of shameful subservience towards the ruler on everyone's part became manifest'. Martin alone commanded, rather than entreated, the emperor.[192] The bishop initially refused to attend royal feasts as the emperor had deposed and killed his fellow rulers. When eventually persuaded to attend, contrary to custom, Martin passed a goblet from the king to a priest, claiming he was the next worthiest recipient. The stunned court admired Martin's audacity, noting that his fellow bishops would not have emulated such behaviour even at the table of the lowliest judge.[193] The *Vita* also pointed out that Martin undertook military service in his youth, against his will, first as an attendant, but then, Severus admitted, had engaged in arms, but without the vices that attended other soldiers.[194] When accused of cowardice by the Emperor Julian, after desiring to become a soldier of Christ, Martin had chosen to stand unarmed on the frontline of battle. The enemy subsequently entreated for peace, with Martin achieving a bloodless victory.[195] The text acted as not only an important literary and hagiographical model, but also provided an early illustration of 'priestly firmness' towards royal authority and of aversion to the royal court and military service, with both qualities framed as marking out the bishop from his less worthy peers.[196]

The *Vita Martini*, and the bishop's example, proved extremely popular with the authors of twelfth-century English and German *vitae*. Richard Southern pointed to the *Life of St Martin* as one of the most influential instances of hagiography produced in the Middle Ages.[197] The *Vita* itself was available at Abingdon, was quoted by the *Vita Meinwerc*i,[198] and used by William of Malmesbury,[199] the *Vita Arnoldi,*[200] Eadmer,[201] and the author of the first

[192] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, 116-117.
[193] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, 118-119.
[194] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, 96-97.
[195] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, 98-99.
[196] Ælfric of Eynsham repeated the story in his *Saints Lives* for the feast of St. Martin. He went on to describe Martin's confrontation with the emperor Valentinian. After being refused access, Martin called upon divine aid as a penitent. The gates were opened for him and he called down heavenly fire upon the emperor's throne. The terrified and chastened emperor narrowly escaped and kissed the bishop, granting all he desired. *Ælfric's Lives of the Saints*, (London, 1881-1900), 259-263.
[197] Richard Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1964), 320-323; Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community*¸ 53, 55-57, quotation at 57 singled out the *Vita Martini* alongside the *Pastoral Care* as 'touchstones and common points of reference for the episcopate and secular clergy when they pondered the ideals of episcopal office... The texts' commonplace presence in episcopal gesta and saints' lives suggests not only their widespread availability but their enduring authority as sources on bishops' mores and behaviour'.
[198] *Vita Meinwerci*, 34, 70, 86.
[199] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 2: 116.
[200] *Vita Arnoldi archiepiscopi Moguntinensis. Die Lebensbeschreibung des Mainzer Erzbischofs Arnold von Selenhofen*: *Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, ed. Stefan Burkhardt (Regensburg, 2014), 53, 55, 118-119.
[201] Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J Turner (Oxford, 2006), xxx.

life of St Dunstan.[202] It was an especially influential template both for the biographer of Hugh of Lincoln, Adam of Eynsham,[203] and for the *vitae* of Otto of Bamberg.[204] Indeed a manuscript of the work has been associated with Hugh of Lincoln himself.[205] St Martin's behaviour was referred to particularly in discussions of episcopal military service. When Conrad, archbishop of Salzburg, was urged to fight on Henry V's Italian campaign, he replied by citing St Martin's response: as a soldier of Christ, he was not permitted to fight. The author of the *Vita* even claimed that Conrad thought more deeply about this than Martin had done, considering it profane to fight his fellow Christians at all.[206] Paradoxically, Martin's example was also used to justify such service. John of Salisbury thus pointed out that the saint had served Emperor Julian, and the eleventh-century *Gesta Pontificum* by Anselm of Liège cited Old Testament examples, alongside St Martin, to justify the military involvement of Wazo of Liège (r. 1041-1048), named by Anselm as a latter-day 'Joshua'.[207]

Other aspects of St Martin's career were also cited. The *Vita Lietberti* claimed that during Lietbert of Cambrai's (r. 1070-1076) election, Henry III (r. 1028-1056), on beholding his reluctance, claimed that, 're-reading many deeds of saintly men, we know that Martin, worthy of the highest place in virtues was well-praised although he thought himself reproved'.[208] The twelfth-century *Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium* likened Bishop Richer (r. 1089-1107), when forced to submit to the emperor, to 'the blessed Martin who entered unwillingly the wicked association of the bishops at Trier under Maximus'.[209] Eadmer, in a

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[202] B, *Vita Dunstani*, 49-51.
[203] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 1: xiv-xv.
[204] *Noble Society: Five Lives from Twelfth-Century Germany,* trans. Jonathan R. Lyon (Manchester, 2017), 19, 96. The second and third books of the Prüfening life of Otto of Bamberg were modelled on Severus's *Life of St Martin*.
[205] Reginald Woolley, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (London, 1927), 70-71.
[206] Haarlander, *Vitae Episcoporum*, also pointed out that the first *Vita* of Ulrich of Augsburg (923-973), written 983-993, drew directly on the example of Martin, and the words of Severus's *Vita,* to describe how Ulrich exposed himself to the arrows of the Hungarians at the siege of Augsburg, dressed only in his episcopal robes.
[207] Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), 49; Jeffrey Robert Webb, 'Representations of the Warrior Bishop in Eleventh Century Lotharingia', *Early Medieval Europe* 24 (2016), 103-130, at 117 points out that Anselm of Liège's *Gesta Pontificum* cited Old Testament examples to describe the bishop as 'his Joshua', alongside St Martin's early military service. Jan Keupp, 'Die zwei Schwerter des Bischofs: von Kriegsherren und Seelenhirten im Reichsepiskopat der Stauferzeit', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 117 (2006), 1-24, at 13-14 points out the use made of St Martin by Gerard of Reichersberg (1093-1169) to criticise Adalbert, archbishop of Mainz (d. 1137).
[208] *Vita Lietberti*, MGH SS 30:2, 847 'Plurima sanctorum relegentes gesta virorum, Scimus Martinum virtutum culmine dignum, Tunc bene laudatum, dum credit eum reprobatum, Presul Defensor, non sanus ad omnia censor'.
[209] *Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium*, MGH SS: 10, 498 'Ille undique constrictus, similisque beato Martino, qui sub Maximo nefariam episcoporum communionem Treveris invitus inivit, curiam adiit, satisfactionem caesari obtulit, ei communicavit, de cetero firmam fidelitatem ei repromisit, et ita obsides absolvit'.

manner also reminiscent of the *Pastoral Care,* claimed that all disclosed their secrets to Anselm so that he could correct their vice. Anselm thus resembled St Martin in his commitment to Christ, justice, and virtue.[210] No comparison was more detailed, however, than that drawn by Adam of Eynsham with regard to Hugh of Lincoln; Adam claimed that the bishop was the saint's 'devoted disciple and imitator'.[211] Hugh was determined to die on the saint's feast day and, throughout his life, adopted him as 'his special patron and model', taking 'pleasure in dwelling on his virtues and the pains he took to follow his example'.[212] Adam even admitted that

> 'I should perhaps beware of making Hugh resemble Martin in everything, yet it does seem to me very obvious that there was a great resemblance between their lives and deaths. It is no hardship for me to dwell on this more fully since I think that it would edify my readers'.[213]

Like Martin, Adam argued, Hugh had advanced towards his enemies unarmed. Similarly, just as the saint 'served the priest before the haughty king, so Hugh esteemed the burial of the poor above kings and their banquets, and neither he nor Martin showed any fear of the earthly rulers of their day'.[214] There was thus 'in all these respects and in others... a resemblance between the lives and characters of Martin and Hugh', though Adam occasionally lapsed into a competitive tone: the relative absence of monks at Hugh's funeral, compared to Martin's, was more than compensated by the presence of kings, Adam suggested.[215] While Martin and his *Vita* provided a model for later episcopal ambivalence towards the royal court and military service, as well as for an scepticism of royal authority more generally, Adam of Eynsham's comparison also brings out the fact that actions embodying that reluctance nonetheless found royal association an important source of legitimacy and pride, one to be drawn upon through dramatic gestures of opposition.

Ascetic values were also of fundamental importance to Bede's portrayal of kings and bishops. Bede was well-known in twelfth-century England, with over a third of the 70 extant manuscripts of his *Historia Ecclesiastica* dating from this period. Bede's writings were drawn upon by the tenth-century reform movement, and inspired a restoration of monastic

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[210] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi,* 13-14.
[211] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 1: 24, cf. 2: 43, 217.
[212] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 2: 199.
[213] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 2: 200.
[214] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 2: 200-201.
[215] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 2: 203, 206.

life in northern England. The *Historia* may also have been regarded by high medieval readers as a valuable collection of English *vitae* in its own right, as well as providing an immensely influential historiographical model for authors such as William of Malmesbury.[216]

Following the Bible, Eusebius, and Orosius, Bede connected royal behaviour to the prosperity of the kingdom. In doing so, he repeated passages from Gildas, a sixth-century British cleric, who had argued in his *De Excido et Conquestu Britanniae* that moral reform was necessary to repair the relationship between God and the Britons.[217] Gildas posited a cycle of moral degeneration, echoing Orosius and the classical historian Sallust, a pattern that would, in turn, be repeated by Bede and, later, Wulfstan of York, in each case to promote moral and religious reform. Like Orosius and Eusebius, Bede also provided examples of how divine aid had defended the kingdom.[218] For example, Oswald, the *Christianissimus rex*, defeated the Britons and was more powerful than any predecessor, because of his faith and the presence of bishop Aidan at his side.[219] Divine favour, prosperity, and military success were brought about by pious royal conduct and the company of especially holy bishops. Bede included a letter from Pope Gregory the Great to King Æthelberht, which described how God raised up rulers to benefit and correct their subjects: the king would become a second Constantine, surpassing the power of all his predecessors, as long as he heeded the advice of Augustine of Canterbury (d. 604).[220] Those kings who converted their subjects, and listened to their bishops, such as King Edwin of Northumbria (586-633), were rewarded with success, while those who did not brought disaster upon themselves.[221] Kings who ignored episcopal advice faced especially grave consequences. When King Ecgfrith (645-685) expelled Wilfrid (633-709), for example, he experienced military defeat and the loss of his brother, before being killed himself while campaigning against the Picts (an action again conducted in

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[216] Teresa Webber, 'Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica as a Source of Lections in Pre- and Post-Conquest England', in *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past*, ed. M. Brett and D. A. Woodman (Aldershot, 2015), 47-74, esp. 47, 69. On Bede as a model for William of Malmesbury, see Sønnesyn, *Ethics of History*, 5, 44, 106, 125-128, 157, 264-265; Emily Joan Ward, 'Verax historicus Beda: William of Malmesbury, Bede and Historia', in *Discovering William of Malmesbury*, ed. Emily Dolmans, Emily Winkler, and Rodney Thomson (Woodbridge, 2017), 175-188.
[217] Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom (Chichester, 1978).
[218] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Bernard Colgrave, R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1991), 62-65, 140-143, 236-237. See Sarah Foot, 'Bede's Kings', in *Writing, Kingship and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. David A. Woodman and Rory Naismith (Cambridge, 2018), 25-51; Judith McClure, 'Bede's Old Testament kings', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society. Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. Patrick C. Wormald, Donald A. Bullough, and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1983), 76-98.
[219] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 212-227.
[220] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 110-115.
[221] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 148-157.

defiance of St Cuthbert's and St Egbert's counsel).[222] In addition, Bede particularly praised examples of royal humility and generosity. King Oswald (r. 604- 641/642) distributed such alms at a royal feast that a delighted St Aidan predicted his right hand would never decay.[223] More generally, Bede used his *Historia* to look back to a golden age in which virtuous Christian kings had listened to episcopal instruction.

Bede's history followed a recurring pattern, familiar from the Old Testament, in which exemplary individuals were contrasted with contemporary sloth. For Bede, the realm's fortunes depended on royal-episcopal co-operation, obedience to God, and the divine interventions prompted by royal piety. As Nicholas Higham has pointed out, Bede blamed present-day ills on specifically royal, not episcopal, failings; while kings repeatedly erred, the religious leaders down to Bede's own day reflected the example set by Augustine of Canterbury and his virtuous successors.[224] Those kings who obeyed their bishops gained temporal success, while those who ignored them faced defeat and death. Bede's *Historia* reflected previous patterns of Christian thinking regarding kings and bishops, newly applied by examples which continued to be cited into the twelfth century. Ideally, kings should co-operate with bishops to convert, teach, and correct their subjects, in return for worldly success and divine aid on the battlefield. While Bede touched upon royal dignity and other virtues, he delighted, above all, in dramatic displays of royal humility, generosity, and personal piety. The greatest kings, in fact, had sought their true home in the heavenly, rather than the royal, court. Bede's monk-bishops and kings thus shared the same ascetic framework of St Martin. As Simon Coates puts it, Bede's kings were part of the political arena but 'moved awkwardly within it'.[225] By contrast to Martin's portrayal, however, there was less of an aversion to royal power, than an insistence that it must be subordinate to episcopal oversight in the form of heeding advice. While much of Bede's representation of royal and episcopal conduct thus drew upon earlier patterns, his portrayal was nonetheless distinctive and offers important parallels with twelfth-century authors who continued to stress the link between episcopal counsel and both royal and national success.

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[222] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 426-461.
[223] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 230-233, 250-253, 254-261,288-295, 332-337, 364-369, 376-381.
[224] N. J. Higham, 'Bede's Agenda in Book IV of the 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People': A Tricky Matter of Advising the King', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 64:3 (2013), 476-493, at 477-483.
[225] Janet Nelson, 'Royal Saints and Early Medieval Kingship', *Studies in Church History* 10 (1973), 39-44; Simon J. Coates, 'The Bishop as Pastor and Solitary: Bede and the Spiritual Authority of the Monk-Bishop', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47:4 (1996), 601-619, esp. 603-607, 617, with quotation at 602.

Admonitio and the 'Carolingian experiment'

We have already encountered the idea of *admonitio* within a specifically biblical and Christian framework and alongside a classical tradition of offering counsel and advice. While most commonly associated with the Carolingians, it was not a concept new or unique to that dynasty. Its prominence stemmed from its dependence on biblical and patristic models not least as provided by Ambrose of Milan, whose example was seized upon by Carolingian authors, such as Sedulius Scottus, Agobard of Lyon, Frechulf of Lisieux, and Hincmar of Rheims.[226] Irene van Renswoude has recently argued that the classical tradition of *parrhesia* had morphed into a Christian ascetic practice during Late Antiquity.[227] Only a self-controlled, critic could offer impartial criticism: monks and bishops, in this respect, emerged as successors to the ancient philosophers in their provision of frank, and apparently sincere, criticisms, while stressing at the same time their non-conformist and outsider status.[228] Ambrose's actions, and the persecutions he faced, were compared to the biblical prophets, and his career reframed in light of a Carolingian concern for admonition, the dangers of royal tyranny, and the benefits of royal humility and penance.[229] As Mayke de Jong highlighted, the Carolingians also had more immediate examples at hand: admonishing bishops were found in the works of Gregory of Tours and Sidonius Apollinaris, with ascetics such as St Columbanus and St Boniface portrayed as rebuking their royal patrons.[230] As de Jong also noted, however, such figures, like St Martin and Bede's bishops, were charismatic outsiders, supposedly set apart by their asceticism from the elite they admonished.

While such figures were a potential source of inspiration, the pervasiveness of *admonitio*, and its prominence as an episcopal duty, marked a fundamental shift under the Carolingians, who, it has been said, aimed at 'nothing less than the creation of a collective moral framework for the salvation of Frankish people'.[231] Moral reform and *correctio* thus took on a greater prominence and urgency. Military defeats now led to moral panics, changes

[226] Giorgia Vocino, 'Framing Ambrose in the Resources of the Past: the Late Antique and Early Medieval Sources for a Carolingian portrait of Ambrose', in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe,* ed. C. Ganter, R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 2015), 135-154, 145-6.
[227] Irene van Renswoude, *License to Speak. The Rhetoric of Free Speech in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, forthcoming).
[228] As Michael Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of Frankish Kingship, 300 – 850* (Washington, DC, 2011), 370 stated of the Carolingian episcopate, 'bishops sought to be disjoined from the society around them' despite their considerable political importance.
[229] Vocino, 'Framing Ambrose', 145.
[230] Mayke de Jong, 'Admonitio and Criticism of the Ruler at the Court of Louis the Pious', in *La culture du haut moyen âge, une question d'élites?* ed. François Bougard (Turnhout, 2009), 315-338, at 319.
[231] Mayke de Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009) 3-7, 116-7; For the quotation see Chris Wickham, *Medieval Europe*, (New Haven, 2016), 70.

in royal behaviour, penitential councils, and episcopal censure, the obligations of penance engulfing the entire royal court. The opposition to Carolingian queens similarly reflected the perceived necessity of keeping that court morally immaculate. The appeals to divine approval, the fear of the dangers which accompanied royal sin, and the consequential importance of admonition, all exceeded previous precedents.[232]

One consequence, regarded as a peculiarly Carolingian or 'early medieval' trait, was that admonition was regarded as a royal and societal, as much as an episcopal, responsibility. In the *Admonitio generalis* (c. 789), Charlemagne legislated on topics traditionally reserved for ecclesiastical councils: clerical morality, episcopal hierarchy, the need for peace, and the avoidance of sin. Charlemagne, like Josiah in the Book of Kings, was accountable for his people's conduct and therefore sought to recall them to proper worship.[233] As Louis the Pious's capitulary *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines* (c. 825) outlined, the king should admonish his people, and bishops correct their clergy, while the laity should co-operate with both. All sections of society, in turn, should also heed episcopal admonition, but kings and bishops might also correct one another while occupying the same moral high ground. Carolingian *admonitio* was thus no 'one-way street'.[234] As a result, the emperor was responsible for the conduct of his episcopate. Towards the end of the ninth century, Notker of St Gall (840-912) portrayed Charlemagne as a *rector* in chief, who vigilantly surveyed and admonished a sinful and vain episcopate, the ruler himself 'capable of out-bishoping' his appointees.[235] Notker showed how the emperor sought out learned and virtuous bishops: Alcuin's license to chastise Charlemagne, for example, derived from both his royal familiarity and his own intellectual prowess.[236] The emperor emerges as the moral arbiter of

[232] Wickham, *Medieval Europe*, 72-74; Suchan, *Mahnen und Regieren*, 153-368; Monika Suchan, 'Monition and Advice as Elements of Politics', in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2011), 39–50; Moore, *Sacred Kingdom*, esp. 122-375.
[233] 2 Kings 22-3; Mayke de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna E. Story (Manchester, 2005), 103-135.
[234] Jong, 'Admonitio and Criticism', 323. For *admonitio* through the genre of *specula principum* see Geoffrey Koziol, 'Why We Have Mirrors for Princes but None for Presidents', in *Why the Middle Ages Matter: Medieval Light on Modern Injustice*, ed. Celia Martin Chazelle (London, 2012), 183-198, esp. 183-186.
[235] Jong, 'Admonitio and Criticism', 324-26; Wickham, *Medieval Europe*, 75; Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', 110.
[236] Notker der Stammler, *Taten Kaiser Karls des Großen*, MGH Script. rer. Germ. N.S., 12 ed. Hans Frieder Haefele (Munich, 1959, reprinted 1980), 3-7, 12; *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, trans. David Ganz (London, 2008), 94-96, 102.

his episcopate, upbraiding and mocking worldly, negligent, and ignorant bishops in what Notker described as a 'treatise on Charlemagne's piety and care for the Church'.[237]

The political crisis of the 830s has been regarded as a crucial turning point in the development of episcopal ideals.[238] According to Mayke de Jong, the royal primacy of *admonitio* was challenged when a group of Frankish bishops claimed superiority over Louis the Pious, because of their capacity to impose penance and absolve sinners.[239] By 833 *admonitio* had turned from an acceptable means of proclaiming unpalatable truths into potential slander and defamation.[240] Steffen Patzold has also argued that the 820s saw the emergence of a new, highly influential, model of episcopal authority in which bishops acted as spiritual regents of the kingdom. The Council of Paris (829) was a fundamental turning point in the development of this 'Parisian model', in which Patzold argued king and episcopate were regarded as jointly responsible for the people's salvation. Patzold traced the influence of this model through ninth and tenth-century chronicles, *gesta episcoporum*, and hagiography.[241] Episcopal office was now defined with greater precision, Patzold suggested, to focus on admonition and pastoral care, alongside a particularly onerous responsibility for the emperor's personal salvation. As Patzold noted, while individual aspects of this model were hardly new, and especially stemmed from Gregory the Great, they were now combined and disseminated by Louis the Pious's immediate advisors with greater vigour in a kingdom beset by inner turmoil and external threat.[242] The influence of this model, as Patzold recognised, was not uniform: it was especially prominent in Lotharingia and the northern Frankish kingdom, but evoked less often in East Francia, while its manifestation in different textual genres also varied.[243] Hincmar of Rheims, in his *De Divortio* (c. 860) and in his treatise on royal government, known as the *Admonition of Hincmar*, further highlighted

[237] For multiple examples, Notker der Stammler, *Taten Kaiser Karls des Großen*, 5-48; *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, 96-133.
[238] Jong, *Penitential State*, passim; Moore, *Sacred Kingdom*, 238-268; Courtney M. Booker, *Past Convictions: The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009).
[239] Mayke de Jong, 'Religion', in *The Early Middle Ages. Short Oxford History of Europe, II*, ed. R. McKitterick (Oxford, 2001), 131-164, at 141.
[240] Jong, 'Admonitio and Criticism', 327, 337-338. What these boundaries were, and how they changed over time, de Jong concluded is frustratingly difficult to uncover, though it was clear contemporaries felt those boundaries were breached in the crisis of 828-834.
[241] Steffen Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern, 2008).
[242] Patzold, *Episcopus*, 511-512.
[243] Patzold, *Episcopus*, 512, 515.

episcopal concern for the king's soul and the importance of royal self-control, given the example set by the king's personal behaviour to his own subjects.[244]

By examining this crisis, and Carolingian political culture more generally, de Jong in particular has drawn attention to both the vocabulary and manner of admonition. Ezekiel 33:7 proved to be the most important biblical point of reference during the crisis. Behind the episcopal watchmen, stood an omnipresent and threatening God willing to punish those who failed to heed episcopal censure.[245] This biblical inspiration mattered, given the wider role of the sacred text in Carolingian society and the parallels posed by the Empire's external and internal threats, but the vocabulary of correction itself owed much to Gregory the Great.[246] As de Jong demonstrated, the noun *admonitio* occurred only once in the Latin Bible available to the Carolingians and even then in an apocryphal book, with the verb, *admonere,* similarly rare. The prominence of the term thus stemmed not from biblical usage, but from patristic writings, especially the *Pastoral Care*. *Correptio,* with more punitive connotations of reproach and blame, was far more common in the Bible, associated with prophetic warnings of Israel's impending destruction and the need for repentance. Its synonyms, *increpatio* and *increpare,* similarly referred to morally charged rebukes.[247] While Louis the Pious and his critics had shared the same normative framework, *admonitio* had been an acceptable form of criticism, one regarded as motivated by pastoral care and embedded in humility.[248] As de Jong summarised:

> 'the speaker claimed the morally superior position, correcting others for their own benefit in a way that could be acceptable to social equals or superiors, provided the message was delivered in a way recognised as appropriate by both parties involved.'[249]

Critics thus inevitably walked a tightrope between acceptable moral exhortation and dishonourable accusation. Ideally, *admonitio* would prompt reflection and improvement,

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[244] *The Divorce of King Lothar and Queen Theutberga: Hincmar of Rheims's De Divortio*, trans. Rachel Stone and Charles West (Manchester, 2016), 14-15, 22-23, 49, 71-73, 89-91, 135-136, 190, 202-204, 207-209, 269-270, 295-296, 298-318, 323; Karl Heidecker, 'Why Should Bishops Be Involved in Marital Affairs? Hincmar of Rheims on the Divorce of King Lothar', in *The Community, the Family, and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe,* ed. Joyce Hill (Turnhout, 1998), 227-235; Hincmar of Rheims, 'De Ordine Palatii', in *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader,* trans. Paul Dutton (Cardiff, 1993), 485-490.
[245] Jong, 'Admonitio and Criticism', 316-317, 321-22, 328-329.
[246] Jong, 'Admonitio and Criticism', 317, 321-22; Jong, *Penitential State,* 112-147.
[247] For examples see Jong, 'Admonitio and Criticism', 320-321.
[248] Jong, 'Admonitio and Criticism', 327.
[249] Jong, 'Admonitio and Criticism', 336

allowing the royal recipient to be magnanimous and humble in response, accepting unpleasant truths without dishonour and thereby enhancing both his own stature and that of his corrector. If admonition was delivered too sharply, however, or outside acceptable boundaries, it might be considered offensive and imply outright opposition.

As de Jong demonstrated, the biographies of St Adalard (751-827) and Wala (755-836) by Paschasius Radbertus (785-865) highlighted the importance of their criticism, counsel, and presence at court, to the health of the kingdom.[250] The *Epitaphium Arsenii* set out to demonstrate that Wala's *admonitio* and *invectio* were motivated by love and pastoral care, comparing Wala both to Arsenius, the tutor of Emperor Theodosius's son Honorius, and to the biblical prophet Jeremiah. Wala was praised for criticising the royal court and for overseeing justice and the public good.[251] Wala's enemies, Bernard of Septimania and Empress Judith, by contrast, were attacked for their adultery, their influence over the emperor, and for turning the palace into a brothel, with the episcopate also blamed for their cowardly silence.[252] While there is little evidence for a wide reception of Radbertus's works, several features of his portrayal are still worth noting.[253] The counsel provided by Adalard and Wala was regarded as essential to the realm's survival. Louis's deposition only became necessary because the opportunity to admonish had been lost. Their criticism focused on the moral purity of the court, and that of the royal bedchamber, but they were hindered by figures familiar from the Old Testament: the Devil, wicked counsellors and queens, as well as the episcopate who by their silence resembled Israel's false prophets. We will encounter very similar features when turning to the twelfth-century English *vitae*.

Evidence for a specifically episcopal duty to admonish was not, however, as widespread as one might assume. In his examination of late Carolingian *vitae*, Patzold pointed to how Hildegar of Meaux's *Life* of St Faro (d. 675), the bishop of Meaux, emphasised episcopal responsibility for the king's salvation. The *Vita* portrayed the bishop as

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[250] *Charlemagne's Cousins: Contemporary Lives of Adalard and Wala*, trans. Allen Cabaniss (Syracuse, 1967), 44, 47, 50, 57.
[251] *Charlemagne's Cousins*, 100, 149-150; Mayke de Jong, 'Carolingian Political Discourse and the Biblical Past: Hraban, Dhuoda, Radbert', in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* ed. C. Ganter (Cambridge, 2015), 87-102, especially 98-101; Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 196-208; Mayke de Jong, 'Jeremiah, Job, Terence and Paschasius Radbertus: Political Rhetoric and Biblical Authority in the Epitaphium Arsenii', in *Reading the Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed. Janet Nelson and Damien Kempf (London, 2015), 57-76, especially 62-66.
[252] *Charlemagne's Cousins*, 158, 184-185.
[253] Mayke de Jong, 'For God, King and Country: the Personal and the Public in the Epitaphium Arsenii', *Early Medieval Europe* 25 (2007), 102-113, especially 102-104 argued that the works were nonetheless designed to counter more widespread allegations that Wala had been disloyal to the king.

admonishing King Chlothar II (r. 613-629) after he disregarded the laments of a poor woman.[254] Faro explained that she complained not for herself, but for the king: 'although she is oppressed by her miserable heart, you must be even more oppressed because of the government entrusted to you'.[255] Chlothar could not hope to enjoy God's favour, unless he paid heed to the woman entrusted to him by God. It was an episcopal duty to remind the king of that responsibility.[256] While, in this instance, the representation of the *Vita* accorded with the broader Parisian model, and its emphasis on episcopal responsibility for royal salvation and correction, the *Vita Faronis* was the only example discussed by Patzold to approve such admonition.[257] Stuart Airlie, however, has pointed to other examples as well as more fundamental features of the Carolingian *vitae*.[258] The importance of the royal court and the palace, Airlie argued, surfaced in the *vitae* of holy men which portrayed their attendance at royal assemblies, their interaction with royal documents, and the advice they provided to both the royal family and royal government.[259] Representations of Christian asceticism in the *vitae* included correction of the ruler and the apparatus of royal authority but, as Airlie noted, such criticism was rare and hardly radical in nature.[260] In fact, a *Life* of St Maximin of Trier (d. 346), written in the late 830s, praised the saint's opposition to emperors, contrasting it with the 'degenerate behaviour of our own age. Who would now dare to reveal the righteous sternness of the divine commands to the emperors?' The writer certainly did not recognise any golden age of admonition.[261]

The adjective 'Carolingian' has often used to describe ideas, sources, and royal and episcopal expectations. How can we define this in practice and how far do the expectations discussed here depart from our foundational sources? This is a difficult question to answer. Carolingian authors and their successors drew upon a similar body of material, albeit at times through Carolingian mediation. What appears as a Carolingian model of royal or episcopal authority was often primarily Gregorian, Pseudo-Cyprian, or Ambrosian in character; rulers had been portrayed as subject to episcopal censure long before 751, let alone 1077. At the

[254] Patzold, *Episcopus,* 486.
[255] Patzold, *Episcopus,* 486.
[256] Patzold, *Episcopus,* 486-487.
[257] Patzold, *Episcopus,* 467-508.
[258] Stuart Airlie, '"Not Rendering unto Caesar": Challenges to Early Medieval Rulers', in *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat*, ed. Walter Pohl and Veronika Wieser (Vienna, 2009), 489-502.
[259] Airlie, '"Not Rendering unto Caesar"', 500.
[260] Airlie, '"Not Rendering unto Caesar"', 500-501 suggested that this was in part because the real martyrs, under truly degenerate and tyrannical rulers, were meant to lay at the heart of this new kingdom.
[261] Airlie, '"Not Rendering unto Caesar"', 501, n. 92.

same time, the Carolingians took to *admonitio* with a greater urgency and sophistication than their predecessors, the norm permeating a wider political discourse, though perhaps not influencing the episcopal *vitae* to the extent one might expect. In terms of royal expectations, while an emphasis on royal self-control was hardly novel, praise for royal humility, repentance, and oversight of the Church was more distinctive, even if anticipated by Bede's ascetic kings. Great emphasis was placed on the royal court's moral purity. Wicked servants, the Devil, and seductive women, were the typical enemies of admonishing prelates who rooted their criticisms in pastoral care and humility. If we are to compare any Carolingian model of royal and episcopal behaviour to its high medieval equivalent, the former surely entails an emphasis on religious oversight, a moral discourse centring on the court's moral and sexual purity, with the ruler himself ideally heeding episcopal censure while engaging in *admonitio* himself. If we now turn to late Anglo-Saxon England, we shall see that while Carolingian connections and sources provided important precedents, episcopal responsibility for the realm's well-being also increased in prominence. The importance of examining the Carolingian period, in this study, thus lies in using it as the basis for a comparison with the image of royal and episcopal behaviour that emerges from the twelfth-century *vitae* and *gesta*. The direct influence of Carolingian texts and models, by contrast to those discussed in the first section of this chapter, appears rather slight.[262] In England, for example, there is little evidence that the Carolingian works discussed above were in circulation, aside from a copy of Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* at Reading Abbey.[263] Indeed, the most well-read of the twelfth-century authors examined by this thesis, William of Malmesbury, knew none of these texts, aside from Einhard's biography.[264] We must be especially cautious then, of supposing that any resemblance to the royal and episcopal norms described above was due to the influence of Carolingian models; first, because we lack evidence of the direct transmission and influence of such examples and second, because to do so may well ignore the debt of our twelfth-century authors to the very classical, patristic, and early medieval sources utilised by the Carolingians themselves.

[262] As Simon MacLean has pointed out, even as early as the tenth century, the later utilisation of Carolingian texts by historians of that period, for example, appears to be a 'glass half-empty'. Simon MacLean, 'The Carolingian Past in Post-Carolingian Europe', in *The Making of Europe: Essays in Honour of Robert Bartlett*, ed. Sally Crumplin and John Hudson (Leiden, 2016), 11-31.
[263] Medieval Libraries of Great Britain Database, http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/E accessed 01/08/2018.
[264] Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 141, 144. He did, however, know of some of these authors through works other than their political treatises or hagiographical output.

Episcopal responsibility in late Anglo-Saxon England

Although both English and German kings acted as patrons of monastic reform, its influence in tenth-century England was unparalleled. There, royal sponsorship owed much to the earlier example of Louis the Pious, and the connections between the English royal family and that of the Carolingians and Ottonians.[265] While in aim, spirit, and sources, Carolingian influence did matter, it did not provide the sole source of inspiration. Nostalgia for Bede's Northumbria, and the bishops he portrayed, was also crucial to a movement that, in addition to reform, also attempted to recast the episcopacy in a monastic mould claiming the king as its special patron and guardian.[266] The conquests of Alfred's successors made possible a revival of religious life in which both royal and episcopal authority were reshaped. Dunstan, (archbishop of Canterbury from 959), Æthelwold, (bishop of Winchester from 963), and Oswald, (bishop of Worcester from 961 and archbishop of York from 971) had sought royal patronage, and the seizure of alienated Church lands, in return for their financial and ideological support for the centralising English monarchy. The prominent role taken by Edgar (r. 959-975), in particular, would see his reign portrayed as a golden age in the later Anglo-Saxon and twelfth-century *vitae.* In an imagined address in the preface to the *Old English Rule*, a vernacular translation of the *Rule of St Benedict*, God promised to glorify Edgar's name and ensure the prosperity of his kingdom. The king was presented by the author of the *Regularis Concordia* as the primary source of reform, responsible for protecting and promoting correct worship. The text's prologue spoke to the reform movement's salient issues: a desire to return to a Bedan golden age, respect for archiepiscopal and episcopal authority, and the mutual interdependence of monarchy, episcopacy, and monasticism.[267] As Robert Deshman demonstrated, the lines between royal and episcopal authority were blurred in visual representations of the king.[268] Catherine Cubitt indeed has concluded that the reform

[265] Wickham, *Medieval Europe*, 87-88.
[266] These connections, in turn, were built on Mercian and Alfredian ninth-century precedents. *The Political Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York*, trans. Andrew Rabin (Manchester, 2014), 6; Catherine Cubitt, 'The tenth-century Benedictine reform in England', *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997), 77–94, especially 77, 81-82; Patrick Wormald, '*Æ*thelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast', in *Bishop Aethelwold: his Career and Influence*, ed Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), 13-42, at 32 which argued that Wulfstan promoted 'the Carolingian ideology of a Christian empire, serving one God, one king, and one Rule'.
[266] Cubitt, 'Tenth-century Benedictine reform', 79, 81-82, 88-90; Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture*, 44-45, 52-53.
[267] D. J. Dales, 'The Spirit of the Regularis Concordia and the Hand of St. Dunstan', in *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult,* ed. Nigel Ramsey (Woodbridge, 1992), 45-56, at 50-51
[268] Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture*, 45-46, 52; Robert Deshman, '"Christus rex et magi reges": Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976), 367-405; Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton, 1995), esp. 192-193.

movement was characterised as much by the episcopate as by Benedictine monasticism. Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald, all fitted into a tradition of powerful English prelates, which stretched back to Oda of Canterbury (r. 941-958), and, before him, Bede: a tradition which continued with Wulfstan of York (r. 1002-1023).[269] The image of Dunstan as an instigator of this movement would also be much embellished by twelfth-century writers.[270] The enhanced role of the king as patron and guardian of proper worship, and the fact that reform emanated from the royal court, echoed earlier Carolingian characteristics. It is perhaps no coincidence that we shall also find in the Anglo-Saxon *vitae* a corresponding interest in that court's moral integrity. The reform movement's legacy included a greater integration of monarchy, episcopacy, and monasticism, with increased royal patronage, royal control over episcopal appointments, and monastic intercessions for kings. In texts and images, the lines between royal, episcopal, and monastic authority were blurred, but the increased prominence given to episcopal authority is particularly striking. As Levi Roach pointed out, the entire process could be regarded as a consequence of clerical *admonitio*: the *Regularis Concordia* claimed the youthful King Edgar had been warned by a cleric, presumably Æthelwold, to pay greater heed to the ecclesiastical well-being of the realm.[271]

Episcopal responsibility for the kingdom's moral integrity appears to have been heightened in late Anglo-Saxon England. This was both the consequence of the partnership formed by the monastic reform movement and of the crisis that engulfed the kingdom during the Viking invasions which occurred under Æthelred II. As under the Carolingians, the collapse of royal authority and the threat of invasion were seen as the consequence of sin, necessitating moral reform.[272] During his time as royal advisor, the writings of Wulfstan, archbishop of York, posited such reform, but also further elevated episcopal authority.[273] We must take particular care to disentangle Carolingian influence from what was distinctive to

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[269] Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture*, 84-86; Cubitt, 'The tenth-century Benedictine reform in England', 84-85.
[270] Nicola Robertson, 'Dunstan and Monastic Reform: Tenth-Century Fact or Twelfth-Century Fiction?', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 28 (2006), 153–167; See also Marsha L. Dutton, 'Sancto Dunstano Cooperante: Collaboration between King and Ecclesiastical Advisor in Aelred of Rievaulx's Genealogy of the Kings of the English', in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power,* ed. Emilia Jamroziak (Turnhout, 2006), 183-196; Dunstan was later thought by Anselm to be the authority behind the movement as demontrated in a letter he wrote to Lanfranc: Dales, 'The Spirit of the Regularis Concordia', 55.
[271] Levi Roach, 'Review of Religion and Politics in the Middle Ages. Germany and England by Comparison / Religion und Politik im Mittelalter. Deutschland und England im Vergleich', *German Historical Institute London Bulletin*, 35:2 (2013), 88-93, at 92.
[272] See Winkler, *Royal Responsibility*, 56-77, esp. 68.
[273] Renée Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order: Archbishop Wulfstan and the Institutes of Polity', in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages,* ed. John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Aldershot, 2007) 58-85, at 60-66.

Wulfstan's ideas. Wulfstan has been described as an honorary Carolingian, and was, according to Patrick Wormald, '*par excellance* a Carolingian ideologue' who was 'the main exponent of the Biblical ideal that God's people ruled in accordance with His will: the pre-eminent ideal of Charlemagne's kingship'.[274] How far that ideal was unique to Charlemagne is debatable, and certainly Wulfstan was also heavily indebted to earlier English monastic traditions, Bede's history, and the products of the tenth-century reform movement.[275] Through his writings, Wulfstan sought to restore the unity and co-operation of Edgar's reign, in particular by using the law to reshape religious, moral, and social life. In the process, however, he enhanced and elevated episcopal authority to a higher standard than his Carolingian predecessors.

Amid the threat of near-constant warfare, Wulfstan exhorted his flock to pray, repent, give alms, and appease God's wrath, envisaging a 'holy society' mirroring the divinely ordained hierarchy of the Christian cosmos and soul.[276] As Andrew Rabin pointed out, the kingdom's increasingly chaotic state prompted Wulfstan to move from admonition and prophecies of doom to specific calls for moral and political transformation.[277] His *Institutes of Polity*, the apotheosis of his views on kingship, law, and ecclesiastical authority, recycled much material from Carolingian authors, as well as from his contemporary Ælfric of Eynsham, but its form was novel and unique: a 'reference manual for religio-political organisation, a handbook for national governance, a disciplinary discourse for Christian subjects in Anglo-Saxon England'.[278] The *Institutes* admonished the king to be virtuous, applying the metaphor of shepherd to both royal and episcopal office.[279] Wulfstan, drawing on Sedulius Scottus, provided a traditional list of royal duties and virtues and noted that the realm would fall if Christian faith weakened.[280] In this regard, Wulfstan departed from one of his Carolingian sources: while a letter of Alcuin, a possible source for the passage in question, made the realm's health dependent on the king, Wulfstan shifted this responsibility onto the Church.[281] Such a revision would be typical of Wulfstan's writings. When he turned

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[274] *Political Writings*, 29-30, 62; Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture*, 42, 76-77; Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Malden, 1999), 27, 465 argued that 'A century and a quarter after the fragmentation of the Carolingian ideal in its Frankish homeland, it as given its most consummate expression by one of the architects of a more enduring 'empire': the English state itself'.
[275] *Political Writings*, 27-30; Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order', 59-62.
[276] *Political Writings*, 2.
[277] *Political Writings*, 14.
[278] *Political Writings*, 101; Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order', 62-64, quotation at 78.
[279] *Political Writings*, 103.
[280] *Political Writings*, 103-6.
[281] *Political Writings*, 106-107, n. 16.

to discuss the realm's governors, Wulfstan focused overwhelmingly on bishops. As messengers and teachers of God's law, they were responsible for proclaiming justice; those who took issue with the episcopate, took issue with God himself. Wulfstan evoked Ezekiel 33:7 to highlight the burden placed on episcopal shoulders.[282] Bishops were thereby bound to educate themselves with books and prayers to teach correctly, watch over the people, and to both preach and exemplify justice.[283] For Wulfstan, the realm's stability depended on proper Christian practice, with disaster the result of poor morality and governance.[284] Any renewal must thus turn on the bishop, as teacher, mediator of God's grace, and centre of the social order. Bishops, not the king, were the architects of peace, unity, and justice, bearing, as leading royal advisors, the greatest moral responsibility to enforce the law.[285] In total, the *Institutes* devoted 44 chapters to the episcopate, the most for any group, with only 20 for the king, nine for ealdormen, and eight for reeves.[286] This prominence might have been controversial, as in one manuscript Wulfstan downplayed their importance. In the final version, however, the episcopate won out: bishops were named 'God's heralds' and bore ultimate responsibility for the kingdom's salvation.[287] They must speak out against injustice, admonish regardless of rank, and proclaim divine justice as the realm's foremost counsellors.[288] As in Bede's *Historia,* the king could not rule correctly without episcopal counsel. Indeed, Wulfstan paired royal with episcopal office as joint heads of the witan.[289] In Wulfstan's vision, bishops would mediate divine wisdom, define royal justice, and bear the ultimate responsibility for safeguarding the kingdom's morality.

Episcopal precedence indeed permeated Wulfstan's writings.[290] Patrick Wormald suggested that Wulfstan's use of homily and law was itself 'a wholly logical response to the position of the Carolingian and sub-Carolingian bishops as God's good servants and the king's, too'.[291] The prominence of bishops in Wulfstan's writings, however, seems to outstrip

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[282] *Political Writings,* 108.
[283] *Political Writings,* 108-109.
[284] Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order', 70.
[285] Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order', 66, 65, 71.
[286] Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order', 72.
[287] Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order', 73.
[288] Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order', 76.
[289] Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order', 77.
[290] *Political Writings,* 37-38; Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order', 77-78, 84 which also suggested that the text revealed the limitations and tensions within medieval political thought before the era of Church reform. The king, by taking counsel from the bishop, she argued, was thus supplemented as head of the state in practice.
[291] Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-Builder', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York. The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend (Turnhout, 2004), 9-27, at 21.

Carolingian precedents.[292] It also reflects a specifically English tradition of powerful prelates participating in the governance of the realm, one which stretched back into the tenth century and beyond. That their increased importance appealed not only to Wulfstan is highlighted by Ælfric of Eynsham's Old English translation of the *Abuses.* On the negligent bishop, although Ælfric largely paraphrased the Latin original, he stressed the implications of episcopal negligence for both the bishop himself and his flock. In the Latin version, as in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, prosperity was tied to the king alone. In the Old English translation, by contrast, Ælfric also made it an episcopal responsibility.[293] Dropping references to excommunication, wives, and children, Ælfric instead drew out the implications of Ezekiel's warning: a negligent bishop would lose many souls, including his own, whereas the people would prosper under a wise bishop.[294] Ælfric's adaptation, like Wulfstan's writings, strengthened the importance of the episcopate to the realm's wider prosperity.

After Wulfstan's death, his writings appeared in homilies and regulations for clerical behaviour.[295] The corpus of his writings is more intriguing, however, as a point of comparison because it reflects a sense of the episcopate's responsibility for the realm's morality and, hence, survival. The breakdown of Edgar's golden age, and the ravages of invasion, necessitated moral reform to appease God's wrath. There was an emphasis, reminiscent of the Carolingians, on the importance of proper worship, and of different orders fulfilling their responsibilities as part of the realm's moral and political regeneration. While Wulfstan was heavily influenced by, and indeed recycled, Carolingian texts, this 'honorary Carolingian' produced a moral-political vision that also built on insular traditions and that departed from his continental predecessors. While Renée Trilling characterised the interdependency of king and people as an ideology inherited from Charlemagne,[296] this too was a tradition with antecedents closer to home: Gildas, and Bede provided their own evidence for the necessity of reform in the face of external threat. Looking back on the tenth-century reform movement, and amid a collapse of royal authority, Wulfstan allotted bishops greater responsibility as the leading counsellors and governors of the realm. While their duties were manifold, none was deemed more important than the admonition, teaching, and correction upon which the kingdom's moral and political regeneration would depend.

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[292] *Political Writings,* 38.
[293] *Two Ælfric Texts,* 68-69.
[294] *Two Ælfric Texts,* 69, 133
[295] *Political Writings,* 44-45. Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order', 62-65.
[296] Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order', 68.

3. Kingship in Ottonian, early Salian, and Anglo-Saxon *vitae*

While considerable attention has been devoted to Ottonian and Salian episcopal biographies, there have been few attempts to compare the portrayal of royal-episcopal interactions they convey to those of Anglo-Saxon England.[297] Which kings, in the recent and distant past, received the greatest praise and why? How far were they accorded a sense of oversight over the Church? How critical were the *vitae* of kings and royal service and was such censure regarded as an episcopal duty? What was distinctive about the portrayal of kingship in either realm?

Before comparing the Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian *vitae* in detail, it is worth contrasting how they treated royal elections and coronations, and the episcopal role within them. Such an analysis is especially worthwhile, given what we have seen of the moral responsibilities attributed to the English episcopate. From the eighth and ninth centuries, across the Latin West, kingship was presented as a clerically conferred and conditioned office.[298] As part of his *Life* of St. Oswald, Byrhtferth (c. 970 - c.1020), a priest and monk at Ramsey Abbey, wrote a detailed account of Edgar's coronation. Two bishops led the king into the Church, where he prostrated himself before the altar. Archbishop Dunstan, as the foremost bishop, then took the diadem from his head, intoning the *Te Deum*.[299] The prelate, unable to contain his joy, burst into tears, realising the people did not deserve so humble and wise a king.[300] The bishops, as a group, then raised up the king and, in response to Dunstan's questions, Edgar made three promises: to secure peace, to proscribe theft and wickedness, and to ensure justice and mercy. God would grant mercy in response and, with the promises made, the archbishop and Oswald recited prayers for the king who was then anointed and

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[297] David Rollason has, however, compared the early Dunstan *vitae* to several from Ottonian Germany, concluding they espoused similar courtly values and a focus on their subject's authority. David Rollason, 'The Concept of Sanctity in the Early Lives of St Dunstan', in *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsey (Woodbridge, 1992), 261-272. Rollason suggested that the Ottonian and English royal courts were linked by their attitudes towards courtliness, as well as by connections and parallel institutions, but also argued that this stress on authority marked a departure from Bede's focus on humility and would not be seen again until Becket in the late twelfth century. The examples accumulated above, and especially in chapter 2 before Becket's murder, challenge this assessment.

[298] Nelson, 'Royal saints', 42-43; Janet Nelson, 'National Synods, Kingship as Office, and Royal Anointing: an Early Medieval Syndrome', reprinted in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), 239-257.

[299] Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, trans. and ed. Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2009), 106-107.

[300] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 106-107.

presented with his regalia.[301] After Dunstan completed the rites, he and Oswald were raised up with the king on his throne amid the celebrations. Edgar's elegance and glory was much praised by Byrhtferth: the king sat amid his nobility and bishops who rejoiced that God had provided such a merciful king.[302] In this portrayal, the glory of the event is emphasised, but so is episcopal mediation. Byrhtferth reproduced the coronation oath and stressed the role of Dunstan and Oswald: they presided over the ceremony, had been raised up alongside the king, and Dunstan had wept with joy at Edgar's humility. In addition, their oversight is manifested in the promises Edgar made in response to their questions. As Björn Weiler noted, this was one of the earliest examples of a coronation oath from post-Carolingian Europe, with few prelates on the continent assigned so prominent a role as adjudicators of the candidate's suitability.[303]

If we turn to the Empire, that sense of moral adjudication, and of episcopal prominence, seems far less palpable. When Wipo (c. 995- c. 1048), chaplain of Conrad II (r. 1024-1039) and present at his election, portrayed the ruler's coronation, he presented the bishops as having an important, but somewhat more ambivalent role. As Dominik Waßenhoven pointed out, the episcopate certainly played a more significant role when compared to earlier royal elections, a change he attributed to their greater self-awareness as participants in the realm's governance.[304] Wipo's text, the *Deeds of Conrad*, was a royal biography, rather than a *vita* of a saint or bishop, but provided a rare account of a royal coronation with a comparable level of detail to that of Byrhtferth. Wipo stressed that Conrad's election occurred on the advice of bishops whom God had entrusted with the Church.[305] The archbishop of Mainz's opinion was taken first, followed by the other prelates, before the archbishop delivered a lengthy sermon at Conrad's coronation outlining his royal duties.[306] As Weiler highlighted, however, Wipo portrayed Conrad enacting those royal virtues before the sermon took place.[307] En-route to the coronation, he rendered justice to an

[301] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 106-111.
[302] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 110-111.
[303] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 181-184.
[304] Dominik Waßenhoven, 'Bischöfe als Königsmacher?: Selbstverständnis und Anspruch des Episkopats bei Herrscherwechseln im 10. und frühen 11. Jahrhundert', in *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter: Deutschland und England im Vergleich*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2013), 31-50, especially 49-50. As he pointed out, the account itself is highly problematic, but presents the election as an ideal type and, therefore, is all the more interesting here for its portrayal of the episcopal role and the fact that a claim of conditionality is not made.
[305] *Wiponis Opera*, ed. Harry Bresslau MGH SSrG (Hannover, 1915). 9; *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century*, trans. Karl F Morrison (Chichester, 2000), 58.
[306] *Wiponis Opera*, 21-23; *Imperial Lives*, 65-68;
[307] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 183-184.

orphan, widow, and a poor man, explaining he would otherwise be unworthy of his royal office. The king thus already had possessed an innate understanding of his office, according to his biographer. Wipo had placed the sermon first in his text, but Conrad acted in the spirit of the archbishop's instruction before it had been given. At the same time though, when Conrad was told by the princes to ignore the paupers and to hurry, Wipo claimed the king had looked towards his bishops before responding.[308] Conrad was thus portrayed as understanding the duties of royal office, enacted free from episcopal command, while still implicitly recognising episcopal oversight of his behaviour.

Portrayals of royal elections and coronations in the German *vitae* themselves are rare, but conform to a similar pattern in which the sense of moral adjudication is far from apparent. The *Life* of Bernward of Hildesheim (r. 960-1022) described Henry II's election, portraying the bishop as handing over the holy lance and focusing on the unanimity of the electors.[309] The archbishop of Mainz and other bishops played a role in Conrad II's election in the first *Life* of Godehard (r. 1022-1038, written 1026 x 1038), while the second *Life* (written 1063 x 1068) portrayed the election of Henry III as parallel to that of a bishop.[310] The *Life* of Burchard of Worms (r. 1000-1025, written 1025 x 1027) claimed that Henry sought the advice of his bishops before his election. But there was no parallel, in any of these accounts, to the role attributed to Dunstan and Oswald, nor to the promises of good governance they extracted. Indeed, in the *Life* of Burchard, the king made a promise, but of a rather different kind: Henry persuaded Burchard to support his bid for the throne in exchange for a castle then owned by Otto, Duke of Carinthia. Once Henry was king, Burchard 'admonished the king by day and night incessantly', not concerning the realm's governance, but 'for the sake of his city's liberty'.[311]

In England, an emphasis on episcopal oversight of royal behaviour emerges that fits the pattern we found above. In Byrhtferth's account, royal duties become centrally important and the king is admonished, by his episcopate and before his people, to keep his promises. The archbishop's role in enforcing the oath, evoking divine sanctions, and performing the

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[308] *Wiponis Opera*, 26-27; *Imperial Lives*, 70-71.
[309] Thangmar, *'Vita Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis*, in *Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts*, trans. Hatto Kallfel, ed. G. H. Pertz (Darmstadt, 1973), 336-337.
[310] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 339-340; *Vita Godehardi I*, MGH SS 11, 186; *Vita Godehardi II*, MGH SS 11, 209.
[311] *Vita Burchardi*, MGH SS 4, 836 'die noctuque ob libertatem suae civitatis regem incessanter admonuit'. The English translation here is that of William North at https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/1025burchard-vita.asp accessed 01 August 2018.

consecration, was considerable. While the contrast between Wipo's and Byrhtferth's depictions should not be exaggerated, and no doubt partly reflect the differing nature of their texts, it is striking that we find a similar absence of episcopal admonition from the German *vitae* more generally: Dunstan extracted promises of good governance for the kingdom where Burchard had asked for a castle. There is a greater sense of episcopal responsibility for royal behaviour in England here compared to Germany, a contrast which will become even more noticeable when we turn to the twelfth century.

If we turn to the *vitae* as a whole, how were the late Anglo-Saxon kings characterised, including in relation to their episcopate? The English *vitae* portray kings as valuing their bishops because of their piety and counsel. Byrhtferth of Ramsey in his *vita* of St Ecgwine (d. 717), written after 1016, claimed that Æthelred, king of the Mercians (r. 675-704), 'always loved discussions with him, because Ecgwine was a revered counsellor and spokesman'.[312] When king Cenred succeeded to the throne, he granted Ecgwine lands because he was devout, wise, and cared for his soul.[313] In the *Vita Oswaldi*, composed between 997 and 1002, Byrhtferth claimed that Oda of Canterbury was honourably received by Æthelstan after miraculously healing one of his thegns, and that the king awarded him a bishopric after hearing of his recent journey to Rome.[314] A *Life* of St Æthelwold, written by Wulfstan the Cantor 997 × 1002, also explained that the saint's holy reputation had led him to be summoned to court by Æthelstan, where he became the king's 'inseparable companion'.[315]

English bishops were praised for their admonition of kings and for braving the dangers this entailed. St Ecgwine was praised for his education and correction of King Æthelred's sons, who were entrusted to him to

> 'be instructed in the ways of justice, so that they would discern the pre-eminence of wisdom and the discipline of moderation and the garland of courage.'[316]

The 'wise instructor' taught them daily 'with health-bringing instruction' to eradicate evil and pride, nourishing them out of his friendship and love for the king.[317] The latter, in turn, recognised Ecgwine's affection and took pleasure in the instruction and correction he offered:

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[312] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 222-223.
[313] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 252-255.
[314] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 16-23
[315] Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Aethelwold*, ed. Michael Lapidge, Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), 10-11.
[316] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 238-239.
[317] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 238-239.

according to Byrhtferth, bishop and ruler together scorned deceitful men, and upheld justice.[318] Episcopal admonition was not without risk, however. When Ecgwine preached against those who wallowed in vice and refused to do penance, he was accused in the king's presence and forced to seek papal protection, although he was quickly restored to the king's love.[319] Correction was not limited to the recent past. Oswald had been commended to Edgar, in the first instance, according to Byrhtferth, because the nobility appreciated how he corrected them 'in a fatherly way'.[320] The same *vita* praised Archbishop Oda of Canterbury for his harsh opposition to the unjust during Eadwig's reign.[321] Oda was forced to confront Eadwig himself when the king, forgetting Christian law, led a wicked life and took a mistress.[322] As Byrhtferth pointed out, the king had forgotten King David's fate, whereas Oda 'aroused the zeal of Phineas', a biblical priest who showed similar zeal against sexual misconduct by killing Zambri, an Israelite, for sleeping with a Madianite harlot, stabbing both through the genitals.[323] Prompted by God's anger, Oda seized and exiled Eadwig's lover.[324] The king himself, however, was treated less harshly. Oda

> 'warned the king with gentle words and actions that he should constrain himself from wicked deeds, lest he should part from the "way of justice"'.[325]

The bishop 'feared greatly that, if his head of state gave himself over to foolish and foul vices, other members of the state would more easily fall prey to vice'.[326] Fortunately, Eadwig,

> 'the fortune and glory of the entire realm... knelt before Oda with contrite visage, for he was a true servant of God, not swaying through fear or love beyond the way of truth.'[327]

Eadwig thus received a more positive portrayal here than he would among late eleventh and twelfth-century authors.[328] While Oda's firm, even harsh, admonition of the powerful was

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[318] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 238-239.
[319] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 228-231, 236-239.
[320] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 58-61.
[321] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 10-13.
[322] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 12-13.
[323] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 12-13.
[324] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 12-13 n. 33.
[325] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 12-13 n. 34: Ps 2:12.
[326] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 14-15.
[327] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 14-15 'just as the saying of the excellent prophet admonishes: 'This is the way; do not turn from it, neither to the right or the left', and similarly remembering that word of the Psalmist: 'Make way for him who climbs to the West'.'
[328] Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Aethelwold,* 24-25, n. 3. Wulfstan of Winchester, by contrast, preferred to omit any mention of Eadwig whatsoever.

praised alongside his general duty to correct, criticism of the king is gentle and, crucially, motivated by concern for the impact of royal sins on the wider realm.

By contrast, Edgar's reign was viewed as a golden age. Wulfstan of Winchester praised the king's words, deeds, preaching and dedication of churches, and claimed Æthelwold enjoyed his familiarity, describing how the bishop expelled the clerics of Winchester and replaced them with monks, with Edgar's support.[329] Many episodes in the *vitae* offered similar opportunities for authors to lavish praise on the king and to describe how the English prospered under his rule. [330] The *vitae* dwelt not only on Edgar's commitment to monastic reform, but also described his military conquests, likening him to 'Solomon the Peaceable' for his wisdom and to David for his strength. At the same time, the bishops defended the people through prayer and the Church flourished.[331] On another occasion, Byrhtferth explained that the king was militant like the son of Jesse, wise like Solomon, just like St Paul, merciful like Moses, and daring like Joshua.[332]

The king's role in reform was not only remarked upon, but provided a sense of ownership for these authors who linked his rule to the kingdom's wider prosperity. Byrhtferth claimed that, while kind and gentle to all, the king honoured monks as his brothers or sons and was contemptuous of secular clerics: 'this very mighty, very benevolent king – indeed he is *our king!*'.[333] As under the Carolingians, *admonitio* was not an episcopal monopoly. Edgar himself admonished monastic superiors to exhort their subjects to live righteously.[334] Byrhtferth portrayed Edgar as surveying the clergy, thanking God for having placed him over such a group. Delighting in the divine services, the king ordered the establishment of forty monasteries.[335] Edgar knew of St Benedict through Oswald, Byrhtferth explained, but he also took advice from Æthelwold, 'his principal advisor', when expelling clerics.[336] When Edgar later agreed to Oswald's petition for a new monastic foundation, his clemency was compared to that of Charlemagne, and contrasted with the tyranny of

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[329] Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Aethelwold*, 24-25, 30-31.
[330] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 298-301. See also *Ælfric Lives of the Saints*, 333-335, 433-441, 469-471 where Ælfric described saints with royal connections as well as arguing, when describing St Swithun, that the English had been especially blessed under King Edgar. similarly claimed the English still described the reign as blessed.
[331] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 298-299.
[332] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 72-75.
[333] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 74-75.
[334] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 76-77.
[335] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 76-77.
[336] Byrhtferth, *Lives*, 78-79. He added 'I shall leave Æthelwold's saintly accomplishments, which have been recorded clearly enough, to his own followers; (referring to Wulfstan of Worcester) let me continue what I have started'.

Nebuchadnezzar and the Roman emperor Decius.[337] Edgar was further praised for loving Oswald as his spiritual father and for following his advice with astonishing speed, alongside that of Dunstan and Æthelwold.[338] The English had thus been 'adorned with brilliant luminaries', and, because Edgar subjected himself to God, the entire Church

> 'began punctiliously to be subjected to God since when the head is governed mercifully by Him, all the remaining members are ruled more virtuously and respectably.'[339]

Prosperity and virtue was therefore thought to spread down from the king through the realm and the Church.

Edgar's reign was followed by decline. While during his time no tyrant or wolf harmed the people, his death brought division, with the episcopate and people turning on one another.[340] Some magnates wished to elect Edgar's elder son, Edward, who struck terror into all, while others preferred the gentler younger son.[341] After Edward was murdered by the latter's treacherous soldiers, the now 'innocent youth' became a martyr, Byrhtferth describing God's vengeance upon the murderers.[342] Byrhtferth also differed from later authors in his relatively positive image of King Æthelred II, describing the consecration of an attractive youth 'elegant in his manners'.[343] After he came of age, 'Prince Beezelebub rose up against him, with all his engines of war' and the Danes ravaged the realm, but these misfortunes were not attributed to the king.[344]

The *vitae* contain further examples of what writers felt was worth reporting in association with English kings. Wulfstan of Winchester referred to the Battle of Brunanburh before describing the death of the 'all-victorious King Æthelstan'.[345] He recorded Edmund's murder and praised his brother Eadred for his patronage of the Old Minister.[346] During his

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[337] Byrhtferth, *Lives,* 78-79. Byrhtferth may have known of Constantine's achievements from Rufinus' supplement to Eusebius's history or from the *Liber pontificalis* summarised by Bede.
[338] Byrhtferth, *Lives,* 100-105, n. 43. Byrhtferth borrowed the wording in this passage from Sulpicius Severus's *Vita Martini* as well as Wulfstan of Winchester's *Life* of *St* Æthelwold.
[339] Byrhtferth, *Lives,* 102-103. Edgar also sent gifts to the [German] emperor, see n. 39 through Abbot Æscwig and Wulfmær, his thegn, and they brought back to him even more wonderful gifts, which served to establish a treaty of steadfast peace. Edgar's generosity is praised.
[340] Byrhtferth, *Lives,* 74-75, 136-137.
[341] Byrhtferth, *Lives,* 136-138.
[342] Byrhtferth, *Lives,* 136-143.
[343] Byrhtferth, *Lives,* 154-155.
[344] Byrhtferth, *Lives,* 154-155.
[345] Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Aethelwold,* 16-17. 'after his destruction, with great carnage, of a hostile pagan army'.
[346] Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Aethelwold,* 18-19.

reign, Æthelwold had planned to go overseas for monastic instruction. Eadgifu, the king's mother, forestalled him, advising the king not to let him leave.[347] At the mother's persuasion, and with Dunstan's consent, Eadred provided Æthelwold with Abingdon, the riches of the kingdom subsequently flowing into the new foundation.[348] The king came to oversee the building works and measured the foundations himself. When Eadred and his Northumbrian thegns dined there, they were delighted by lavish drafts of mead, which, miraculously, could not be reduced below a palm's length.[349] English kings were thus of interest, not just because of their role in monastic reform and their subjection to episcopal censure, but because of their involvement in a community's history, and in the pivotal events of the realm at large.

This portrayal of the late Anglo-Saxon kings and their episcopate provides a useful basis for comparison, both with Ottonian and Salian Germany and the twelfth-century *vitae* of both realms. English kings appointed bishops whose conversation, piety, and counsel they enjoyed, while bishops were praised for their correction of the powerful, including the royal offspring. As under the Carolingians, the harsh tone of the ideal late Anglo-Saxon prelate reflected the fundamental importance of keeping the royal court and bedchamber morally pure. Once again, we witness episcopal responsibility for a monarch's personal behaviour. The importance of this oversight derived from the fact that the king was meant to set an example to the realm as a whole. Edgar's reign was already regarded as a golden age, the king praised for leading monastic reform, as well as for his general virtues and military strength. While we will re-encounter these themes in twelfth-century English *vitae*, several peculiarities should also be highlighted. Oda of Canterbury channelled God's anger against powerful courtiers and royal concubines but, as Gregory the Great had urged, his admonition of the king was more restrained and Eadwig appeared contrite in response. Indeed, the portrayal of Eadwig and Æthelred II will contrast with their twelfth-century reputations. In addition, as with Charlemagne, under Edgar admonition appeared to be a royal business. The style of these *vitae* is also distinctive, not least in their greater use of biblical allusions, but also in the interest of kings in matters as diverse as battles, ceremonial occasions, and even building work. If we turn to Germany, the Ottonian and Salian *vitae* both survive in greater numbers than their late Anglo-Saxon counterparts and have received greater scholarly attention. The following therefore draws heavily on the examples assembled by Stephanie

[347] Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Aethelwold,* 18-19.
[348] Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Aethelwold,* 18-21.
[349] Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Aethelwold,* 22-25.

Haarländer and others, but, by contrast to previous work, will also adopt a more thematic approach to facilitate comparison with the Anglo-Saxon materials.[350]

The golden age of Edgar had an equivalent in the reign of Otto I in the German *vitae*.[351] The piety of Henry II, his oversight of religious orthodoxy and concern for the prosperity of the Church lent his reign a similar sheen. Wolfhere, a cathedral canon of Hildesheim, in his first *Life* of Godehard of Hildesheim (r. 1022-1038), written 1026 x 1038, portrayed Henry II's kingdom as an ecclesiastical ministry, responsible for both clergy and people. He lamented the emperor's death as a loss for all Christendom, with the important consolation that the ruler continued to intercede for the Church from Heaven.[352] Both Otto I and Henry II (r. 1002-1024) were praised for their oversight of that Church, the former ruler characterised as a *summepiscopus* and guardian of correct doctrine, entreated by his bishops to help refute unorthodox behaviour.[353] The latter, for example, was asked to aid in the *correctio* of an unusual monk, the emperor being supposed instinctively to know the correct arguments to refute him.[354] Constantine of St Symphorien, in his *vita* of Adalbero of Metz (r. 984-1005, likely composed between 1009 and 1014) similarly praised Henry for attacking bishops who tolerated uncanonical marriages.[355] The ruler's piety was equally apparent in an episode recounted by Anselm of Liège (writing 1054 x 1056): when Bishop Wolbodo (r. 1018-1021) distributed money to the poor that had initially been intended to buy his way back into royal favour, the emperor, far from being angry, was so impressed by this act of piety that he welcomed back the bishop regardless.[356] Similarly, Henry II sought the

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[350] See Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 312-378; Oskar Köhler, *Das Bild des geistlichen Fürsten in den Viten des 10., 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), 9-76; Odilo Engels, 'Der Reichsbischof in ottonischer und frühsalischer Zeit', in *Beiträge zu Geschichte und Struktur der mittelalterlichen Germania Sacra* ed. Irene Crusius (Göttingen, 1989), 135-175; Odilo Engels, 'Der Reichsbischof (10. und 11. Jahrhundert)', in *Der Bischof in seinerzeit. Bischofstypus und Bischofsideal im Spiegel der Kölner Kirche. Festgabe Joseph Kardinal Höftner* ed. Peter Berglar and Odilo Engels (Cologne, 1986), 41-94; Alheydis Plassman, 'Corrupted by Power - Bishops in Adam of Bremen's Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum', in *Historical and Intellectual Culture in the Long Twelfth Century. The Scandinavian Connection*, ed. Mia Münster-Swendsen, Thomas Kristian Heebøll-Holm, Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn (Durham, 2016), 71-89. The presentation of Ottonian and Salian bishops in royal service on military campaigns, as precedents to twelfth-century portrayals, will be treated in the next chapter.

[351] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 315; *Vita Brunonis I*, MGH SRG N.S. 10, 3; Brun of Querfurt, *Vita Adalberti II A*, *Monumenta Poloniae historica, Nova Series*, 4:1 ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska (Warsaw, 1962), 8, 49.

[352] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 317; Wolfhere, *Vita Godehardi I*, MGH SS 11, 185-186.

[353] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 318-319; *Vita Wolfkangi*, MGH SS 4, 538.

[354] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 331; *Vita Godehardi II*, MGH SS 11, 201-202.

[355] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 331-332; *Vita Adalberonis II*, MGH SS 4, 663-664.

[356] Plassman, 'Corrupted by Power', 58. Anselm of Liège, *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium*, MGH SS 7, 208.

permission of Bernward of Hildesheim (r. 993-1022) before entering his city, and then showered gifts upon the diocese.[357]

As in England, Ottonian and Salian *vitae* stressed the familiarity bishops enjoyed with their king. The first *Life* of Heribert of Cologne (r. 999-1021, written by Lantbert of Deutz probably around 1050 x 1056), described how Otto III (r. 983-1002) drew future bishops to his court, while Thangmar's biography of Bernward of Hildesheim (written around 1019) claimed the emperor also viewed the bishop as his teacher.[358] The various *vitae* of Adalbert of Prague (r. 983-997) relate how the same ruler shared his bedchamber and conversation with his bishop.[359] Adalbert, in a formulation that Haarländer suggested derived from Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, also reminded Henry II of his royal duties, including his obligations towards widows and orphans.[360] The biographer of Burchard of Worms (r. 1000-1025, writing 1025 x 1027) also claimed Otto III had spent two weeks with the bishop's brother and predecessor, Franco (r. 998-999), in a cave at San Clemente in Rome, where together they undertook fasts, vigils, and prayers, and received visions. Just as Otto I and Henry II were especially associated with piety and religious oversight, so accounts of bishops as royal familiars appear to have gathered around Otto III.[361] Still, not all accounts followed this pattern. The first *Life* of Ulrich of Augsburg (r. 923-973, composed 983 x 993) recorded how the bishop had visited the emperor at his palace in Ravenna and barged into the royal bedchamber. Otto I rushed out to meet him, wearing only one shoe, the bishop enjoying unimpeded access even during the emperor's leisure.[362] This episode was, however, omitted by two later biographers.[363] In another case, Lampert of Hersfeld's *Life* of St Lullus (c. 710 – 786, written 1063 x 1073) claimed the saint enjoyed King Pippin's favour. As Björn Weiler has noted, however, the

[357] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 349-350 characterised the behaviour as timid; *Vita Bernwardi*, 338-339. Haarländer pointed to suggestions that the passage was included later by a twelfth-century canon.
[358] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 321-322; *Vita Heriberti I*, MGH SS 4, 742; *Vita Bernwardi*, 276-279. The author claimed, by contrast, to Otto's mother Theophanu had a negative influence. For the debate regarding the date of the *Vita Bernwardi* see Knut Görich and Hans-Henning Kortüm, 'Otto III., Thangmar und die Vita Bernwardi', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische* 98 (1990), 1-57 (arguing for a later date), and Marcus Stumpf, 'Zum Quellenwert von Thangmars Vita Bernwardi', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 53 (1997), 461-496 reasserting the traditional view
[359] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 322.
[360] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 322.
[361] *Vita Burchardi*, MGH SS 4, 833.
[362] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 317; *Vita Uodalrici I*, MGH SS 4, 407.
[363] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 317.

biography, and the figure of Lullus himself, did not establish any enduring model in Mainz comparable to that of Dunstan in Canterbury.[364]

The Ottonian and Salian *vitae* also handled the topic of criticism somewhat differently. Certainly, the episcopal biographers themselves criticised royal conduct. Brun of Querfurt complained of how, in a deplorable age, no king was concerned with converting the pagans, while Wolfhere condemned Otto II's wars in Calabria and the dissolution of Merseburg.[365] The *Life of Burchard* recorded how Conrad II had imposed himself on the bishop, even though he was close to death, and lamented how, under Henry II, the bishop had been unable to complete the construction of St Martin's cathedral because of the demands of royal service.[366] There was also clearly unease regarding the royal court itself, rather than necessarily the king. The first *Life* of Ulrich of Augsburg's described how the bishop appointed his nephew to undertake his duties at court, allowing the bishop to devote more time to prayer and contemplation.[367] In another *Life*, Wolfhere (a cathedral canon at Hildesheim writing between 1026/1027 and 1038) mentioned the journey of Bishop Godehard of Hildesheim (r. 1022-1038) to the royal court, in a single sentence, and suggested that the bishop preferred to avoid meetings of the great because of his ascetic lifestyle.[368] Anselm of Liège criticised Bishop Wazo's courtly life directly, condemning the court as dominated by greed and flattery.[369] In each case, there was either a reluctance to criticise the king directly, or criticism was instead voiced by the biographers themselves. The first *Life* of Heribert of Cologne indeed downplayed the archbishop's opposition to Henry II.[370] This was not always the case: Anselm of Liège portrayed Bishop Wazo standing his ground against royal demands. The prelate insisted on remaining seated in the king's presence because of his episcopal status, pointing out that, unlike the king, he had received no sword at his consecration and had not been anointed to kill.[371] Nonetheless, Wazo's defiance is striking because it provides an exceptional example of a bishop standing up to the king in person.[372]

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[364] Lampert of Hersfeld, *Vita Lulli*, in Lampert, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger MGH SRG (Hannover, 1894), 318-319.
[365] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 319-20; *Vita Adalberti II A*, 10; *Vita Godehardi II*, MGH SS 11, 199.
[366] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 351; *Vita Burchardi*, 844-843.
[367] *Vita Uodalrici I*, MGH SS 4, 389.
[368] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 356-357; *Vita Godehardi I*, MGH SS 11, 186, 196.
[369] Anselm of Liège, *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium*, 224-225; See Köhler, *Das Bild*, 61-65.
[370] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 325-326; *Lantbert of Deutz, Vita Heriberti*, MGH SS 4, 748.
[371] Anselm of Liège, *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium*, 228-230.
[372] Karl Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society* (Oxford, 1989), 80 noted Wazo differed from an episcopate who, more generally, preferred to stress their proximity to the king.

Stephanie Haarländer suggested that criticism was instead primarily delivered in visions and heavenly interventions.[373] Certainly, as she demonstrated, the *vitae* of Ulrich of Augsburg portrayed St Peter admonishing Henry I for dispensing with the royal anointing.[374] Brun of Querfurt similarly described a vision in which Otto II, after the dissolution of Merseburg, was admonished by the diocese's patron St Lawrence.[375] While it is important to bear in the mind that such visions do feature in the German *vitae*, even examples of this form of criticism were relatively few.

We have indeed found few examples of admonition in terms of the face-to-face correction of the sins of the king or the royal court being considered an episcopal duty. Yet a tradition of episcopal *admonitio* under the Ottonian and Salian kings has often been postulated.[376] Levi Roach has noted that Ottonian bishops and their representatives criticised kings, including in public, pointing to a passage in Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon* and a study by Ernst Dieter-Hehl.[377] As Hehl, drawing on Thietmar among other sources, demonstrated, the foundation of the dioceses of Magdeburg, Merseburg, and Bamberg all provoked episcopal opposition and consequent expressions of episcopal solidarity in the face of royal demands. The king was certainly no master pulling the strings of episcopal puppets.[378] Nonetheless, the examples highlighted by Roach and Hehl do not portray, even if they might imply, bishops correcting the king in person, however much they might have resisted royal encroachments on the prestige of their dioceses. Similarly, while Gerd Althoff, citing Haarländer, plausibly suggested that royal familiarity was the essential precondition for frank speech, we actually have few examples of the latter for Germany.[379] The contrast here should not be overplayed: we noted Bernward of Hildesheim's advice to Otto III, and Burchard of Worms was thought to have shaped Conrad II's behaviour as an adopted son.[380]

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[373] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 314.
[374] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 314-315 *Vita Uodalrici I*, MGH SS 4, 389.
[375] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 319; Brun of Querfurt, *Vita Adalberti II A*, *Monumenta Poloniae historica, Nova Series*, 4:1 ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska (Warsaw, 1962), 13.
[376] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 78-79.
[377] Roach, 'Review of Religion and Politics in the Middle Ages', 92 n. 9 which provided Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holzmann, MGH: SS rer. germ. N. S. 9 (Berlin, 1935), 312–313 as an example in addition to Ernst-Dieter Hehl, 'Der widerspenstige Bischof: Bischöfliche Zustimmung und bischöflicher Protest in der ottonischen Reichskirche', in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert (Sigmaringen, 1998), 295–344.
[378] Hehl, 'Der widerspenstige Bischof', 297; Leyser, by contrast, emphasised in the passage cited above that the Ottonians were very much masters of their prelates. See also Rudolf Schieffer, 'Der ottonische Reichsepiskopat zwischen Königtum und Adel', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 23 (1989), 291-301.
[379] Gerd Althoff, *Kontrolle der Macht: Formen und Regeln politischer Beratung im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2016), 28.
[380] *Vita Burchardi*, MGH SS 4, 835.

What we lack from the German *vitae*, however, are examples of correction of the monarch's personal behaviour, motivated by either pastoral concern or the fear that a king's bad example might lead his people astray. In the English *vitae*, the royal court's moral degradation results in harsh opposition to a sinful elite, restrained personal criticism of the king, and the ruthless punishment of sinful courtiers and concubines. German biographers more often felt that their bishops should flee from so pernicious an arena, rather than contest it. The contrast with the highly developed sense of episcopal responsibility found in late Anglo-Saxon England remains striking and its implications will be considered in the chapters that follow.

Conclusion

The expectations attached to royal and episcopal office were fixed in part by a common biblical, classical, and late-antique inheritance. Yet, within this common legacy there remained considerable room for variation, and for particular components to be emphasised or downplayed, depending on context. When assessing the relative importance authors attached to particular royal or episcopal qualities, we are often dealing with differences in emphasis. The intermingling of classical and Christian traditions is unsurprising, given the extent of overlap identified in the first section of this chapter. The impossibility of disentangling these traditions, or of privileging one over the other, is readily apparent. In addition, the sources reviewed here invariably describe royal and episcopal responsibilities as mutually dependent and reinforcing. On the whole, the authors reviewed in this chapter were fairly confident in defining those duties and how they complemented one another. By contrast, Renée Trilling noted that Wulfstan's *Institutes* never engaged with the 'fundamental antinomy' of secular and divine authority, an issue which she argued would come to the fore during the Investiture Contest. The need to reconcile the opposition clearly did not arise for the authors examined above, with reform in any case framed in terms of the reinforcement of customary expectations.[381] The Early Middle Ages have often been associated with a shared moral and political vision in which the ruler represented the integration of religious and secular authority, one broken in the late eleventh century as rulers

[381] Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order', 69. Julia Barrow, 'Ideas and Applications of Reform', in *Cambridge History of Christianity vol 3: Early Medieval Christianities*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia Smith (Cambridge, 2008), 345-362; Kathleen Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005).

were ejected from the Church. While this transformation will be questioned when we turn to the twelfth-century *vitae*, it is worth noting here that, long before the Investiture Controversy, both the early medieval practices and the foundational texts discussed here provided room for a considerable diversity of interpretations.

The question of Carolingian influence has tended to dominate discussions of early medieval royal and episcopal ideals, again perhaps to an exaggerated extent. One recent survey describes how the 'Carolingian project' on the mainland declined, before being taken up in England, a polity regarded as 'the most obvious heir to the Carolingian project'.[382] While the cultural, intellectual, and political connections between England and the Carolingian Empire are readily apparent, defining what we mean by Carolingian is rather more difficult. Similarities in outlook might obscure the debt owed to the sources used by the Carolingians themselves, downplay the extent of insular influence and mediation, and ignore how stimuli common to both realms provoked similar responses. The importance of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* and the Pseudo-Cyprian *Abuses* is readily apparent in both realms, and Bede's Northumbria was just as important, and arguably more explicitly so, a source of inspiration as the court of Louis the Pious. The notion that a ruler was responsible for the well-being of his people, while often implicitly identified as a Carolingian trait, long predated the coup of 751. Much that appears Carolingian was, in fact, Gregorian, Pseudo-Cyprian, biblical, and classical. While the role of the Carolingians in communicating these traditions should not be underestimated, it was not to the exclusion of other lines of transmission. Kings and bishops did not require Hincmar of Rheim's endorsement to know that they should read the *Pastoral Care.*

Nonetheless, certain ideas about royal and episcopal power gained greater traction and may, tentatively, be described as 'Carolingian'. These include: a greater emphasis on *admonitio*, royal humility, and royal oversight of proper worship, the realm's morality, and the episcopate. These features were part of a broader moral and religious discourse that centred on a royal court whose moral integrity was of the utmost importance, lest personal royal sin result in divine wrath befalling the kingdom. Bishops held a particularly onerous responsibility to oversee the monarch's personal morality. Their oversight, framed in humility and pastoral concern, was opposed by wicked servants and seductresses. A virtuous

[382] Wickham, *Medieval Europe*, 88-89 where Wickham argued that the programmatic admonition of kings was less common in tenth-century Christendom, with the exception of an English kingdom highly influenced by the Carolingians.

ruler heeding episcopal censure and submitting to penance, was sufficiently worthy to admonish his own subjects in turn.

To what extent were the Anglo-Saxon kings 'heirs' to the Carolingian project? There are notable similarities. In the *vitae*, Edgar was portrayed as the patron of monastic reform and the guardian of religious worship. That reform emanated from the royal court, in turn necessitating occasionally dramatic episcopal scrutiny. Late Anglo-Saxon bishops were portrayed as having a particular responsibility to correct behaviour. They fearlessly admonished the royal court as a whole even while proceeding more gently with kings, in a manner reminiscent of Cicero and Gregory. Like the episcopal advisors of Louis the Pious, they were concerned by the example set by the king's personal and sexual behaviour. While criticism was far from absent from the Ottonian and Salian *vitae*, and while the royal court was certainly condemned by some authors, there was no comparable concern for its moral integrity.

In England, the prominence attached to bishops exercising moral oversight of king and kingdom, thus marks an elaboration of a Carolingian inheritance and establishes a complex contrast with Germany. The leading role of the episcopate in the tenth-century reform movement was not an isolated feature: Bede had stressed that royal success, and even survival, depended on listening to episcopal counsel. At Edgar's coronation, the king's duties became conditions of his office, spelled out by his bishops who shared in the glory of the occasion. Both Ælfric of Eynsham and Wulfstan of York, in a departure from their sources, heightened the importance of the episcopate in a context in which royal authority had collapsed and the realm's chaotic state necessitated moral reform. It fell to bishops to offer the teaching, instruction, correction, and justice upon which the realm's fate depended. From Wulfstan of York to Augustine of Canterbury, there was then a venerable tradition of powerful bishops who had ensured success for those kings who listened, and who saw themselves as responsible for the morality and care of the kingdom. That duty to correct kings out of pastoral concern for the individual royal character and for the kingdom as a whole, reflected a moral tradition that exceeded Carolingian precedents. It was developed during a period of royal-episcopal cooperation in pursuit of monastic reform, and refined further during a collapse in the realm's security and stability. This tradition will provide one of the most important contexts for the differences that emerge below between the twelfth-century English and German *vitae*.

Chapter 2: Bishops and Kings in War and Peace

Introduction

The provision of military service by the Church to the rulers of England and Germany has stimulated an extensive body of scholarship, but one with concerns rather particular to the broader historiography of the two realms. As Björn Weiler has noted, historians of the English ecclesiastical elite have tended to privilege their role as administrators and managers of resources, rather than the moral, religious, and cultural dimensions of their authority.[1] Until recently, their political and military activities were only considered as parts of wide biographical studies or primarily from the perspective of ecclesiastical lordship, canon law, and institutional military history, especially the *servitum debitum* and the impact of the Norman Conquest.[2] The clergy thus participated in royal campaigns because they were landowners and consequently behaved like them. More recent and detailed treatment of the topic of warrior bishops in England, especially by Daniel Gerrard and Craig Nakashian, has revealed the diversity and contingency of clerical military experience and drawn greater attention to the cultural and narrative responses.

Both Gerrard and Nakashian pointed to the importance of royal service as a justification for military action.[3] Indeed, royal service provided the 'primary cipher' and theme of Nakashian's study. Clerics could embrace military force because of their noble background, political interest, sense of masculinity, or other obligations, but the 'one unifying

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[1] Björn Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings in England, c. 1066 – c. 1215', in *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter: Deutschland und England im Vergleich*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2013), 157–204, at 162.

[2] For historiographical introductions to this topic see Daniel Gerrard, *The Church at War: The Military Activities of Bishops, Abbots, and Other Clergy in England, c. 900-1200* (Abingdon, 2007), 3-4 and Craig Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen of Medieval England, 1000-1250* (Woodbridge, 2016), 13-18. For biographical studies see David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (New Haven, 1999), 289–345; Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (New Haven, 2000), 156–213; Charles Warren-Hollister, *Henry I* (New Haven, 2001), 370–457; Edward Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury, Viceroy of England* (Berkeley, 1972); Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978); Sally N. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent* (Berkeley, 1987); Richard Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990); H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 30-34, 185-196; Richard Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1964), 150-180; Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester* (Oxford, 1990), 65-67, 101-106, 110-116. For a focus on clerical contributions to armies in terms of morale see David Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War c. 300–1215* (Woodbridge, 2003); On normative sources and canon law, Ernst-Dieter Hehl, *Kirche und Kreig im 12. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1980); Lawrence Duggan, *Armsbearing and the Clergy in the History and Canon Law of Western Christianity* (Woodbridge, 2013); Gerrard, *Church at War*, 153-186 and Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, 27-121; on the *servitum debitum* Helena Chew, *The Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-Chief and Knight Service* (Oxford, 1932). On the relation of these military activities to masculinity, Hugh M. Thomas, 'Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket', *Speculum* 87 (2012), 1050-1088.

[3] Gerrard, *Church at War*, especially 217-221.

theme' in England, and the test set by contemporaries, was loyalty to the king.[4] Bishops commanded royal armies, projected royal authority on behalf of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings, and overwhelmingly supported the monarch during civil war. In a marked contrast to Germany, however, it was rare in England to find ecclesiastical lords fighting solely for their own interests.

The German episcopate, by contrast, has been portrayed as especially militant and warlike, often in implicit comparison with other realms where warrior bishops are assumed to have been less active. This is reflected both in the extent of scholarly interest shown in Germany, as opposed to England, and in the perceptions of medieval authors themselves.[5] Hincmar of Rheims claimed that English bishoprics lacked the landed endowments of their German counterparts and thus did not owe the same level of military service, a notion debunked by Janet Nelson.[6] In the thirteenth century, Richard, earl of Cornwall and king of Germany (c. 1209-1272) complained that England lacked the warrior bishops so common in Germany.[7] Such figures were much criticised in Germany itself.[8] Caesarius of Heisterbach, writing in the 1220s, told a much-quoted story in which a Paris student claimed he would believe anything, except that a German bishop could achieve salvation. Caesarius then criticised the German episcopate for wielding both the spiritual and the material sword.[9] As Reuter put it, 'the theme of the militant German ecclesiastic was a favourite' both among 'twelfth-century moralists' and modern historians.[10] The disapproval of the former has occasionally been reflected in the judgements of the latter, who have sometimes suggested

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[4] Craig Nakashian, 'The Political and Military Agency of Ecclesiastical Leaders in Anglo-Norman England: 1066-1154', *Journal of Medieval Military History* 7 (2014), 51-80; Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, especially 12-13, 47, 74, 76, 110, 121, 125, 183, 192 and, on the role model of Turpin for royal episcopal servants, 100-104.

[5] On the early medieval background, Friedrich Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg im frühen Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1971); Janet Nelson, 'The Church's Military Service in the Ninth Century: a Contemporary Comparative View?', *Studies in Church History* 20 (1983), 15-30; John Nightingale, 'Bishop Gerard of Toul (963-94) and Attitudes to Episcopal Office', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser* ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1992), 41-62 with an especially valuable approach to reading *vitae* 'against the grain'. On Germany, Edgar Johnson, *The Secular Activities of the German episcopate 919-1024* (Lincoln, 1932); Herbert Zielinski, *Der Reichsepiskopat in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit (1002-1135)* (Wiesbaden, 1984), especially 199-242; Leopold Auer, 'Der Kriegsdienst des Klerus unter den sächsischen Kaisern', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 79 (1971), 316-407 and the items cited below.

[6] Nelson, 'The Church's Military Service in the Ninth Century', 18.

[7] On Richard of Cornwall and this quotation, Benjamin Arnold, 'German Bishops and their Military Retinues in the Medieval Empire', *German History* 7 (1989), 161-183, at 166-167.

[8] Arnold, 'German Bishops and their Military Retinues', 164-169; On this topic, see especially Keupp, 'zwei Schwerter des Bischofs', 1-24; Timothy Reuter, '"Episcopi cum sua militia": the prelate as warrior in the early Staufer era', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1992), 79-94 especially 79-82.

[9] As cited in Reuter, '"Episcopi cum sua militia"', 79.

[10] Reuter, '"Episcopi cum sua militia"', 81.

that the warrior bishop was an anachronism in the age of Church reform.[11] This has often been combined with an implicit sense that the militarisation of the German episcopate was somehow abnormal, a deviation from a European norm that needs explaining away. Benjamin Arnold concluded that a combination of civil strife, royal demands, and internal competition imposed military traditions upon the German episcopate. Bishops were obliged by their vast land-holdings, their remoteness from the royal court, and the Empire's political structure, to take up the sword.[12] Karl Leyser similarly claimed that episcopal participation in warfare was 'justified by the situation in the Reich' and a lack of royal control.[13] Jan Keupp, surveying criticisms made in the Empire of the gap between saintly ideal and episcopal reality, agreed with Odilo Engels that the High Middle Ages saw a shift from a monastic to a pastoral view of episcopal office, with the bishop's personal salvation taking second place to the need to protect his subjects from earthly harm.[14] The gradual loss of royal protection in twelfth-century Germany, alongside the growing prominence of chivalric, crusading, and knightly ideals, had contributed to the further 'militarisation' of the German episcopate.[15]

Comparative studies of the subject have been extremely rare. This is all the more regrettable given that a comparative approach allowed Timothy Reuter to mount a particularly effective challenge to the very concept of the *Reichskirchensystem.* As Reuter noted, the tendency to view the Empire in isolation from pan-European patterns of ecclesiastical support for kings had made royal service in Germany appear unique.[16] Similarities with other kingdoms, most notably Anglo-Saxon England, were more striking and variations a matter of different political developments, rather than of deliberate royal policy.[17] English bishops were equally obliged to render counsel, *gistum*, and *servita*. Reuter suggested that the English kings were, in all likelihood, more dependent on the resources of their prelates than their German counterparts, a dependency equally evident in the military support offered by the English episcopate to the Anglo-Norman kings.[18] When we turn to the

[11] Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen,* 11-12 for examples.
[12] Arnold, 'German bishops and their Military Retinues', 169.
[13] Karl Leyser, 'Warfare in the Western European Middle Ages: the Moral Debate', in *Communications and Power in the Middle Ages vol II: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1994), 189-203, at 199.
[14] Keupp, 'zwei Schwerter des Bischofs', 16-17. The argument put forward by Engels is discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.
[15] Keupp, 'zwei Schwerter des Bischofs', 17.
[16] Timothy Reuter, 'The "Imperial Church System" of the Ottonian and Salian rulers. A Reconsideration', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982), 347-374, at 347-348; Webb, 'Representations of the Warrior Bishop', 129 described this episcopal type as a 'creature that sprang from policies of the imperial church'.
[17] Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', 366.
[18] Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', 368.

High Middle Ages, comparison has tended nonetheless to emphasise the more militant nature of the German episcopate. When it came to the twelfth century, Reuter, comparing the contribution of lay and ecclesiastical magnates to royal armies, argued for the greater military importance of the episcopate in the Empire.[19] While Reuter, like Gerrard in relation to England, stressed diversity – Christian of Mainz and Rainald of Dassel, after all, were no more typical of the Empire than Odo of Bayeux was of England – he nonetheless demonstrated that German bishops were more locked into their aristocratic environment than their English peers and that this contrast became more noticeable during the twelfth century.[20] Björn Weiler similarly highlighted that English prelates did not involve themselves in the armed defence and acquisition of estates, by contrast to Germany, where such conflicts play a more prominent role in the episcopal *vitae*. In relation to the king, Weiler argued, the political and military might of the German bishop elicited greater comment than the spiritual and moral authority evoked by English authors.[21] This was perhaps a reflection of the different material foundations of the two episcopates. Although the wealth and size of English dioceses varied enormously, they tended to be smaller and poorer than their German counterparts and contributed smaller military contingents as a result.[22] Aside from these important starting points, however, comparison remains rare, particularly in terms of the narrative responses to episcopal military service. As Nakashian suggested, a transnational comparison of royal military service 'most especially with medieval Germany' remains very much a *desideratum.*[23] The episcopal biographies of twelfth-century England and Germany have received less attention than the chronicle accounts, and, as this chapter will demonstrate, a far

[19] Reuter, '"Episcopi cum sua militia"', 84; See also Benjamin Arnold, 'The Western Empire, 1125-1197', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History vol. IV: c. 1024-1198*, ed. D. E. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 384-421; Timothy Reuter, 'A Europe of Bishops: The Age of Wulfstan of York and Burchard of Worms', in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Wassenhoven (Berlin, 2011), 17-38.

[20] Reuter, '"Episcopi cum sua militia"', 90-91. Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', 368 also suggested that the differences noted by twelfth and thirteenth-century English and French observers, of the situation in the Reich, would not have been noticeable a century or two earlier. On the difficulties of perception see, Timothy Reuter, 'John of Salisbury and the Germans', in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. D.E. Luscombe, C.N.I, Brooke, M. J. Wilks (Oxford, 1984), 415-425. On the increasingly aristocratic context of the German episcopate, Timothy Reuter, '"Filii matris nostrae pugnant adversum nos": Bonds and Tensions between Prelates and their "milites" in the German High Middle Ages', in *Chiesa e mondo feudale nei secoli X-XII. Atti della dodicesima Settimana internazionale di studio. Mendola 24-28 agosto* (Milan, 1992), 241-276.

[21] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 172, 177-179.

[22] Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1993), 86. A list drawn up by Otto II laid out the number of mounted men the king expected secular and ecclesiastical magnates to provide. No secular prince had sent more than forty, whereas the bishops of Cologne, Mainz, Augsburg, and Strasbourg all sent at least one hundred. Tellenbach concluded such figures were a 'confirmation of the high economic, political, and military potential of the ecclesiastical elite confirmed in general by the course of German medieval history'.

[23] Nakashian, 'Political and Military Agency', 53 n. 8.

broader range of questions can be asked of this material by taking a thematic approach to their portrayal of various aspects of royal service.[24]

In particular, this chapter will highlight the role of the bishop as peacemakers and mediators in descriptions of episcopal service on royal campaigns. As Sean Gilsdorf has pointed out the 'blessed peacemakers' of Jesus's Sermon on the Mount were mediators between God and humankind, but also between warring factions on earth, their intercessory role initially rooted in the political culture of late Roman and early medieval society.[25] Episcopal intercession and mediation combined 'two major aspects of the bishop's *persona*... "political-patronal" and "spiritual-pastoral"' with the bishop the 'practitioner *par excellance* of intercessory politics'.[26] The bishop was not simply a go-between, but found and encouraged compromise which he then sought to guarantee and uphold.[27] This episcopal duty, Gilsdorf argued, was a late-antique legacy, one enhanced in the Carolingian period, but which reached its zenith in the tenth century.[28] Thereafter, episcopal intercession did not disappear, but shifted into the background, replaced by a more hierarchical ideology and representation of royal power under the Salian and Staufer kings. Gilsdorf's chronology in this regard has not gone unchallenged. While he focused in particular on a bishop's duty to intercede on behalf of magnates who had lost royal favour, we will see below that this was a role of great importance, in the Empire at least, when it came to royal campaigns abroad.[29]

Both Gilsdorf and Jehangir Malegam have drawn attention to the nature of peace itself. Gilsdorf noted that episcopal peace-making was an 'ontological imperative as well as a dogmatic one'. A truly Christian community could only exist 'inasmuch as love and peace

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[24] For discussions of the *vitae* on periods of the Middle Ages other than the twelfth century, see Arnold, 'German bishops and their military retinues', 179-181 and Nightingale above. For our period see scattered discussion in Reuter, Gerrard, and Nakashian; none of these contributions, however, adopted a comparative approach.

[25] Sean Gilsdorf, 'Bishops in the Middle: Mediatory Politics and the Episcopacy', in *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium*, ed. Sean Gilsdorf (Münster, 2004), 51-73, especially 52-57; Sean Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends: Intercession and Aristocratic Politics in Carolingian and Ottonian Europe* (Leiden, 2014); See also Keupp, 'zwei Schwerter des Bischofs', 10. It is worth bearing in mind that the above-mentioned sermon is not referred to once by the *vitae* discussed below.

[26] Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends*, 125.

[27] Gilsdorf, 'Bishops in the Middle', 56-57. See Sophie Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community of England, 1213-1272* (Oxford, 2017), 61-81.

[28] Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends*, 125-152.

[29] See David Bachrach, 'Review: The Favor of Friends: Intercession and Aristocratic Politics in Carolingian and Ottonian Europe', *Speculum* 90:4 (2015), 1116-1118, at 1117-1118 and Levi Roach, 'Review of The Favor of Friends: Intercession and Aristocratic Politics in Carolingian and Ottonian Europe, (review no. 1631)' https://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1631 accessed 10/08/2018.

reigned over it'.[30] As Malegam has shown in detail, high medieval ecclesiastical commentators distinguished between a false peace, simply 'tranquillity aggrandized', and a more virtuous true peace, represented by a 'faithful community, under a just regime, directed by spiritual authority'.[31] The twelfth century, Malegam suggested, saw the 'identity of the *pacificus*' take on a greater urgency, including in biblical exegesis.[32] Peace-making, as Bernard of Clairvaux had stressed, should only be entrusted to those who themselves were truly peaceful.[33] The period thus witnessed a greater emphasis on the clerical supervision of peace-making, which included 'clerical oversight of the political and emotional welfare of laypersons'.[34] Both Jan Keupp and Timothy Reuter had already pointed to the fact that episcopal military activity in Germany was often framed in terms of pastoral care and peace-making, and similar efforts at the latter by the English episcopate during King Stephen's reign are also well-recognised. This attention, to clerical oversight and the quality of the peace supervised, proves a useful lens through which to analyse how military service was portrayed in episcopal *vitae* and *gesta*.[35] At the same time, scholarship has been less concerned with regional variations in the episcopal role as peace-maker and mediator. In this regard, we will find hitherto unnoticed differences between England and Germany.

By contrast to previous work on the topic, this chapter analyses the portrayal of royal service by bishops during royal campaigns, both from a comparative perspective but also by broadening our analysis beyond the actual fighting and the provision of troops. In the first section, we examine the contribution made by episcopal counsel and expertise, namely how

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[30] Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends,* 141; Gilsdorf, 'Bishops in the Middle', 58-60 using the *vita* of Ulrich of Augsburg as an example.
[31] Jehangir Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth: Disputing Peace and Violence in Medieval Europe, 1000 - 1200* (Ithaca, New York, 2013), 3.
[32] Malegam, *Sleep of Behemoth,* 200.
[33] Malegam, *Sleep of Behemoth,* 205.
[34] Malegam, *Sleep of Behemoth,* 26-27.
[35] Keupp, 'zwei Schwerter des Bischofs', 17-18; Reuter, '"Episcopi cum sua militia"', 92; Valerie Ramseyer, 'Pastoral Care as Military Action: The Ecclesiology of Archbishop Alfanus I of Salerno (1058-1085)', in *The Bishop Reformed. Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle* Ages, ed. John S. Ott and Anna T. Jones (Aldershot, 2007), 189-204; As Malegram pointed out, Aelred of Rievaulx, Isaac of Stella, and Joachim of Foire, all Cistericians, gained a reputation for advising kings and princes and defined themselves as peacemakers. Malegam, *Sleep of Behemoth*, 224; For Stephen's reign, and Aelred of Rievaulx, see Paul Dalton, 'Churchmen and the Promotion of Peace in King Stephen's Reign', *Viator* 31 (2000), 79–119; Paul Dalton, 'Civil War and Ecclesiastical Peace in the Reign of King Stephen', in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, ed. Diana E. S. Dunn (Liverpool, 2000), 53–75; Marsha L. Dutton, 'Sancto Dunstano Cooperante: Collaboration between King and Ecclesiastical Advisor in Aelred of Rievaulx's Genealogy of the Kings of the English', in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000–1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power* , ed. Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton (Turnhout, 2006), 183-195; Stephen Marritt, 'Reeds Shaken by the Wind? Bishops in Local and Regional Politics in King Stephen's Reign', in *King Stephen's Reign, 1135–1154*, ed. Paul Dalton and Graeme J. White (Woodbridge, 2008), 115-138.

the advice and skills of the English and German episcopate were regarded, by twelfth-century episcopal biographers, as helping to maintain royal authority at home and abroad. Episcopal counsel itself has rarely been discussed in this context. As we shall see, when it came to offering advice, bishops in England recommended aggressive military tactics as much as peace and mercy. In the second section, we turn to the direct military involvement, analysing the attitude of the biographers towards episcopal leadership of royal armies, their interpretation of royal service, whether as a burden or an honour, and how far they lauded, or downplayed, such activities. The final section compares an aspect of episcopal support that has rarely received attention in the traditional framework of military history. Contemporaries regarded divine aid as more important to victory than any temporal resource.[36] The deity recognised by the authors of the *vitae* and *gesta* was very much, as Matthew Strickland has put it, 'the Old Testament Lord of Hosts whose aid was vital to ensure both personal safety and corporate success'.[37] Bishops did not go to war simply as 'the imperial aristocracy in ecclesiastical robes', as Friedrich Prinz once characterised them, but had spiritual weapons, and access to the Divine, in a manner entirely unlike their lay counterparts.[38] Our final section therefore examines how *vitae* and *gesta* portrayed their subjects wielding such weapons on the king's behalf. What military support and personal security could divine intercession and episcopal moral backing provide? One might assume that providing such support was simply what bishops across the Latin West did. A detailed comparison between England and Germany questions that assumption. Before we turn to these questions, however, we must first examine, briefly, the Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian precedents to provide a context for our later depictions of episcopal and royal behaviour.

Ottonian, Salian, and Anglo-Saxon Precedents

As mentioned above, discussions of episcopal service to the Ottonian and Salian kings have been dominated by the *Reichskirchensystem*.[39] The convergence of ecclesiastical and state power was regarded as a defining feature of medieval Germany, a consequence of the collapse of the Carolingian Empire and a subsequent attempt by Ottonian and Salian rulers to grant

[36] Gerrard, *Church at War*, 5-7.
[37] Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry. The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217* (Cambridge, 1996), more generally 59-73, with quotation at 59; On the involvement of saints in warfare more generally see Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* (Princeton, 2013), 378-379; and for England, Gerrard, *Church at War*, 127-129, 311.
[38] Prinz, *Klerus und Kreig*, 70.
[39] John Eldevik, 'Bishops in the Medieval Empire: New Perspectives on the Church, State and Episcopal Office', *History Compass* 9 (2011), 776-790 for a useful historiographical overview.

privileges to the Church to check the power of the regional nobility, an accommodation destroyed by the Investiture Contest. Critics of this model have pointed out not only the Merovingian and Carolingian antecedents to these arrangements, but also that many of the features regarded as peculiar to Germany were in evidence across the Latin West, fitting Anglo-Saxon England rather better.[40] While we have many examples of military activity, and of royal service, from the Anglo-Saxon episcopate more broadly, these aspects of episcopal behaviour are ignored in the extant Anglo-Saxon episcopal *vitae*.[41] Although there were thus considerable parallels between England and Germany in the services bishops provided to kings, in the political and military importance of the episcopate, and in the degree of royal control, a direct comparison on this front between the Anglo-Saxon *vitae* and their Ottonian and early Salian counterparts is not possible.

If we turn to the German *vitae*, however, we encounter several themes that will reoccur in our twelfth-century examples. Brun of Cologne (r. 953-965), as portrayed in Ruotger's *Vita Brunonis*, written 968/969, has often been regarded as typical of the Ottonian kings' utilisation of the Church for their own purposes.[42] Ruotger set out to demonstrate that Brun had maintained his spiritual integrity while serving Otto I, especially during the rebellion of the king's son, Liudolf. The *Vita* portrayed the emperor himself comparing Brun with Archbishop Frederick of Mainz (r. 937-954), the latter characterised as a coward who had foolishly handed over his city to the rebels in order to devote himself to piety alone.[43]

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[40] Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', 347-368; Jaeger summarised some of the responses to Reuter and rejected the implications of his arguments. See C. Stephen Jaeger, 'Origins of Courtliness after 25 Years', *The Haskins Society Journal* 21 (2009), 187-216; further criticisms of the Imperial Church System, as a historiographical construct, were made by Monika Suchan, Mayke de Jong, and Boris Bigott and are listed in Eldevik's review above in addition to those cited by Patzold. On the applicability to England, see Ludger Körntgen, 'Introduction', in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waβenhoven (Berlin, 2011), 11-15, at 14; Catherine Cubitt, 'Bishops and Succession Crises in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2011), 111-126.

[41] Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture*, 62-66; Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000 - 1066: A History of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church* (London, 1979), 86 characterised Ealdred, archbishop of York as the closest England possessed to a prince-bishop. See also Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the chancellor', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10 (1988), 185–222; Mary F. Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks in the Reign of Edward the Confessor', *Haskins Society Journal* 9 (2001), 159–173; Janet Nelson, 'The Church's Military Service in The Ninth Century: A Contemporary Comparative View?', *Studies in Church History* 20 (Oxford, 1983), 15–30.

[42] Oskar Köhler, *Das Bild des geistlichen Fürsten in den Viten des 10., 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), 11-26, 41-52; Friedrich Lotter, *Die Vita Brunonis des Ruotger* (Bonn, 1958); See Webb, 'Representations of the Warrior Bishop', 110-111; Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart, 2000), 351-353 for bibliography.

[43] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 351-352; Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis*, MGH SRG N.S.10, ed. Irene Ott (Weimar, 1951), 20.

Brun, by contrast, was a true servant of peace, supporting his brother and king to protect the Church and his flock. The first *Life* of Ulrich of Augsburg (r. 923-973), written by the cathedral provost Gerhard between 983 and 993, portrayed the involvement of that bishop in warfare more directly. When Augsburg itself had been besieged by the Hungarians, the bishop stood before the arrows and stones of the enemy, dressed only in his pontifical garments in clear emulation of St Martin.[44] While the fighting itself was undertaken only by his soldiers, Ulrich did redirect his troops to defend the most vulnerable gate. While the first *Life* does not confirm Ulrich's participation in the Battle of the Lech (955), a third biography of the bishop, by Bern of Reichenau, written in the 1020s, portrayed him as attending the battlefield and compared him to Joshua, but again highlighted that Ulrich himself was unarmed, fighting only with his prayers.[45]

Even this participation in the enemy's defeat, through spiritual intercession or direct command, was rare. Instead, as in the *Vita Brunonis*¸ the authors of the *vitae* preferred to stress how their bishops had served the king by bringing about peace, offering mediation, and limiting bloodshed.[46] Lantbert of Deutz, writing 1050 x 1056, described how, when Otto III tried to take Rome by force in 998, Heribert of Cologne had sought to win over his enemies through leniency instead.[47] As Gilsdorf pointed out, Gerhard's *vita* of Udalrich of Augsburg highlighted the bishop's role as a mediator between Otto I and Liudolf. The bishop admonished the king, reminding him that peaceful behaviour was the requisite of good Christian rulership.[48] Bernward of Hildesheim (r. 993-1020) also appeared, in his episcopal *vita*, as a counsellor to Otto III at the siege of Trivoli, advising the king to force the city's submission.[49] When the city surrendered, it was through the mediation of both Bernward and the Pope: to the besieged, they resembled messengers sent from Heaven.[50] During the Roman uprising, when the imperial army faced defeat, Bernward appeared in the front line of the

[44] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 372. *Vita Uodalrici I*, MGH SS 4, 401.
[45] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 373; *Vita Uodalrici III*, PL 142, col. 1195.
[46] They also offered such mediation, of course, for those magnates who had fallen foul of the king's favour. Bishop Dietrich was praised by his biographer as a mediator for those who had lost the king's grace, accepting payment from those he helped only in relics. Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 366-367; Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita Deoderici*, MGH SS 4, 466, 472-473.
[47] Lantbert of Deutz, *Vita Heriberti*, MGH SS 4, 742-743.
[48] Gilsdorf, 'Bishops in the Middle', 58-60.
[49] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 367-368; The *vita* was written c. 1007-1025, with possible mid twelfth-century additions; Thangmar of Hildesheim, *Vita Bernwardi*, MGH SS 4, 769.
[50] Thangmar, *Vita Bernwardi*, MGH SS 4, 769.

battle, supporting the troops with his prayers and accompanied by the holy lance. Even here, however, the bishop stressed his desire for peace.[51]

It will already be apparent that these portrayals minimised the participation of bishops in fighting itself and stressed their attempts to limit conflict and bloodshed. The *Life* of Burchard of Worms (r. 1000-1025), written 1025 x 1027, takes this pattern one stage further, describing how, after the death of Otto III, a retreating royal army found its path blocked by the citizens of Lucca. Burchard sent negotiators to secure a safe passage, but the Luccese continued to harass the army.[52] Burchard then asked one of his knights, Thietmar, to resolve the situation without bloodshed if possible. When Thietmar instead ambushed and slaughtered the enemy, the bishop wept, rebuked his servant, and sent the citizens compensation.[53] Similarly, Otloh, a biographer of Wolfgang of Regensburg (972-994), writing before 1062, reported another near-disastrous royal retreat, when an army led by Otto II (r. 961-983), returning from a campaign against the West Franks in 978, was trapped by a flood. Wolfgang encouraged his supporters to cross and saved the army from defeat, oblivious to the skirmishing taking place behind him.[54] The bishop had a responsibility on imperial campaigns to preserve life, rather than to channel his military resources or spiritual power into taking it.

The *vitae* also highlighted attempts by bishops to excuse themselves from attending royal campaigns: royal service was not regarded as a virtuous and praiseworthy activity in and of itself. When Ulrich of Augsburg suggested to the emperor that his nephew, Adalbero, should be chosen as his successor, Otto was so pleased with his choice that he allowed the nephew to lead the episcopal militia in his uncle's place, meaning Ulrich could concentrate instead on his religious duties.[55] Constantine of St Symphorien claimed that Adalbero II of Metz (984-1005) had sent money to the emperor to escape military service, considering this to be more just, and less burdensome to his own community than the hardships caused by long marches on campaign and the financial strain of raising an army.[56] In his examination of eleventh-century episcopal biographies produced in Lotharingia, J.R. Webb has pointed out that bishops were often styled as defenders of the oppressed, their responsibility to protect

[51] Thangmar, *Vita Bernwardi*, MGH SS 4, 770. See Keupp, 'Die zwei Schwerter', 10.
[52] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 370-371. *Vita Burchardi*, MGH SS 4, 836.
[53] *Vita Burchardi episcopi Wormatiensis*, MGH SS 4, 836.
[54] Keupp, 'Die zwei Schwerter', 29; Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 370; *Vita Wolfkangi*, MGH SS 4, 539.
[55] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 353-354; *Vita Uodalrici I*, MGH SS 4, 389.
[56] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 354; *Vita Adalberonis II. Mettensis episcopi*, MGH SS 4, 667.

widows and orphans overlapping with that of the king. As we have seen, however, heroic portrayals of episcopal violence were rare, even in that context of duty.[57] Webb highlighted two episodes in Anselm of Liège's *Gesta Episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium, et Leodiensium* in which Wazo of Liège (r. 1041-1048) refused to deploy his soldiers on the emperor's behalf.[58] On the first occasion, Wazo was called upon to help a countess who wished to betray her husband and ally with the emperor. Wazo declined, thinking it was a trap, with Anselm blaming the entire affair on the mutability of the female mind.[59] When imperial forces later gathered to attack the Frisians, in support of the bishop of Utrecht, Wazo again judged the affair would be too risky and refused to serve.[60] Wazo was later charged by the emperor with negligence, humiliated at court, and forced to pay compensation, leading to a famous passage in which Wazo reprimanded the emperor for his treatment of an anointed priest. Wazo continued to resent the king for the rest of his life.[61]

As Stephanie Haarländer rightly noted, bishops were often portrayed acting as mediators, holding back from any direct intervention in the fighting itself.[62] There are both parallels and contrasts to be drawn, in this regard, with the twelfth-century *vitae* produced in both England and Germany. In their attention to the episcopal duty of peace-making, the Ottonian and early Salian *vitae* have much in common with their twelfth-century successors in Germany, but less with England. In addition, while we will encounter no further examples, similar to that of Ulrich of Augsburg, of a German bishop supporting a royal army with prayer, such incidents were far more common in the episcopal biographies of twelfth-century English prelates. As we shall see below, there was considerable variation between the two polities when it came to describing the spiritual firepower bishops wielded on behalf of the king.

[57] Webb, 'Representations of the Warrior Bishop', especially 103, 106, 108. 108.
[58] For what follows see Webb, 'Representations of the Warrior Bishop', 115-117.
[59] Anselm of Liège, *Gesta Episcoporum Tungrensium, Trajectensium, et Leodiensium*, MGH SS 7, 224.
[60] Anselm of Liège, *Gesta Episcoporum Tungrensium, Trajectensium, et Leodiensium*, MGH SS 7, 229-230, 233.
[61] Anselm of Liège, *Gesta Episcoporum Tungrensium, Trajectensium, et Leodiensium*, MGH SS 7, 230.
[62] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 374.

Assisting the king through expertise and counsel

In this section, we examine how late eleventh and twelfth-century episcopal biographers described the benefits rulers gained from the service of the English and German episcopate. German biographers were far more forthcoming on this topic than their English counterparts, but, as in the Ottonian and early Salian *vitae*, their accounts of royal service have at their heart a concern with peace-making, just war, and pastoral care that contrasts with the comments made by both their more critical contemporaries and the assessments of modern historians. While the number of English examples here are relatively few, we shall see that these exceptions offer important parallels to portrayals in the Empire and also a surprising difference in the aims attributed to the role of episcopal counsel in a military context.

The *Life* of Arnold of Selenhofen (r. 1153-1160), written shortly after his murder at the hands of the rebellious citizens of Mainz, praised the bishop's service to the emperor on Frederick Barbarossa's Italian campaigns.[63] The *Life* described how Milan's 'cruelty and their own lust for power' led the city to attack its neighbours repeatedly, the 'complaints of the afflicted' and the 'incessant accumulation of disputes' forcing the emperor's hand.[64] When, 'despite the imperial exhortations', Milan's aggressive actions did not cease, 'it was inevitable that they would feel the imperial sword, which was used to punish evildoers, but to praise the good'.[65] The emperor summoned a large and glorious army, singling out Arnold as 'the greatest, wisest and richest prince of the whole empire'.[66] Arnold, however, 'begged to the imperial magnanimity that he should be allowed, while retaining the king's favour, to stay within his own province', explaining that he was too old and unfit to be useful on such a campaign and that he was weary after 'so many accomplishments in the imperial service'.[67]

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[63] *Vita Arnoldi archiepiscopi Moguntinensis: Die Lebensbeschreibung des mainzer Erzbischofs Arnold von Selenhofen*: *Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, ed. and trans. Stefan Burkhardt (Regensburg, 2014), 102-103, 188-189.

[64] *Vita Arnoldi*, 90-91 'Eodem tempore Mediolanensium sevicia et propria dominandi libido contra finitimas civitates et populum sibi adiacentem in tantum exarsit, quod clamor afflictorum omnis orbis iam pene repleverat aures et ipsum gloriosissimi Cesaris Frederici imperia tribuna querelarum sedula cumulacione pulsabat'.

[65] *Vita Arnoldi*, 90-91 'Cumque post temporum longa intersticia monitis imperialibus acquiescere nollent, et invictissimi Cesaris arma post tergum quasi proicerent, accirentque sibi regnorum omnium invidiam, obmittendum non erat, quin gladium imperialem – qui ad vindictam gestabatur malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum – experirentur'.

[66] *Vita Arnoldi*, 90-93 'Inter quos venerabilem Arnuldum Maguntinum, sicut maximum sapientissimum et ditissimum tocius imperii principem, evocavit'.

[67] *Vita Arnoldi*, 92-93 'Ipse vero Maguntinus proinde multa instancia imperialem precabatur clemenciam, ut ei in gracia sua intra provinciam remorari liceret; etatis sue exhaustum senium, et ad bellicum usum ineptum et hactenus multiplici labore in obsequio imperali attritum, pretendens'.

Frederick refused, according to Arnold's biographer, because he knew that success in war was due more 'to the excellence of the spirit than to physical force' and that Arnold 'by his wise counsel and all his virtues, wealth, and honour was the most distinguished of all the princes of the realm'.[68] Arnold therefore accompanied the emperor, the *vita* claimed, for the glory of God and the Church, but also in the hope that peace between the kingdom and the priesthood might be restored and that Milan might be recalled to imperial favour 'so that so great a city would not perish'.[69] The author emphasised this desire for mercy throughout his description of Arnold's service and claimed he did not have sufficient space to describe the bishop's efforts to secure peace and

> 'with what concern he protected both the monasteries and churches as well as the poor, how generous he was to them, with what rich donations and goodwill, even in the battle camp, he received, nourished, and comforted them, and how much help he was to them in dealing with the emperor and the other princes.'[70]

Once Milan had surrendered, the subsequent peace settlement was concluded with the advice of the princes but 'especially with the virtue and prudence of Mainz'.[71]

Contributing to military campaigns was thus, as we saw in the earlier *vitae*, not in itself a virtuous act. Instead, what concerned the author were Arnold's attempts to protect the vulnerable and his desire to secure peace, in keeping with a tradition of Christian thought stretching back to St Augustine. The campaign itself was portrayed as just, called out of necessity to subdue a frenzied opponent who had disturbed the peace. Arnold's participation in such a war even then was reluctant and his presence valued for the counsel and wisdom he provided. Arnold's actions on the campaign itself were framed in terms of his restraint of

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[68] *Vita Arnoldi*, 92-93 'At imperator, sciens, rem militarem virtute animi magis procedere quam viribus corporis, cognoscensque, virum ipsum consilio et omni virtute diviciis ac honestate inter omnes regni principes esse excellentissimum, noluit ipsius carere presencia'.

[69] *Vita Arnoldi*, 92-93 'Maguntinus itaque, imperialem videns prevalere sentenciam, vergentem sui quasi oblitus etatem, ut vir virtutum omnium gnarus – pro honore Dei et Maguntine ecclesie; et ut pax inter regnum et sacerdocium, que tunc quibusdam emergentibus causis admodum erat elapsa, reformaretur; possetque ad imperii graciam Mediolanenses revocare Concordia, ne tanta civitas deperditum iret, statuit, se imperialibus obtemperare mandatis'.

[70] *Vita Arnoldi*, 98-99 'quanta simul sollicitudine claustra et ecclesias fratrum et omnes pauperes tutabatur; quanta eis largitus fuerit, et quanta largitate et benivolencia in ipsis castris eosdem amplexabatur pascebat et consolabatur; quantumque apud cesarem et alios principes eis aminiculabatur; cicius nos tempus, ut videtur, ad hoc referendum quam verba desereret'.

[71] *Vita Arnoldi*, 100-101 'consilio principum, maxime virtute et prudencia Maguntini, essent in pace composita...'.

unnecessary violence and his peace-keeping efforts, ideals which sat alongside praise for his *Königsnähe* and pre-eminence among the princes.

Other episcopal biographers also noted how German kings owed their military successes to the skills of their clerics. The *Life* of Benno II of Osnabrück (r. 1069-1088), probably written by Norbert, abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Iburg (founded by Benno) shortly after the bishop's death, described how Benno had acted as a military advisor to the Salian kings. Benno averted disaster during Henry III's campaign against the Hungarians in 1051, an offensive which, Norbert reminded his audience had been undertaken because the emperor wished to humble the Hungarians and subjugate them to the Christian faith.[72] The emperor recognised Benno's resourcefulness and skill. Norbert focused, in particular, on 'how many lives were saved by his protection', as attested by vernacular songs and tales still told in Norbert's own day.[73] The Hungarians, fearing a pitched battle, had fled from the emperor, devastating the countryside in their wake and leaving the royal army close to starvation. This also meant, of course, that Benno himself did not have to engage in direct military action.[74] Instead, Benno distinguished himself in Norbert's eyes by organising supplies: 'his experience of continual toil and by his astonishing skill in finding things' rescued the emperor and his companions from 'so cruel a death'.[75] The German episcopal biographer, again in the context of a just war, praised his subject's ability to protect and save life, rather than to take it.

Benno was also lauded because of his skill as an *architectus praecipuus*. His ability in the 'work of stone masons' contributed towards his exceptional familiarity with Henry IV.[76] The king, wary of growing discontent in Saxony, began building castles to 'guard against the defection of perfidious men' and placed Benno in charge of the work, knowing no one would be more faithful or diligent in carrying out the task.[77] Although Norbert regretted the devastation caused by the ensuing conflict, he did not shy away from claiming that Benno

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[72] *Vita Bennonis* in *Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts*, trans. H. Kallfelz ed. Bresslau (Darmstadt, 1973), 380-383.
[73] *Vita Bennonis*, 380-383 'ubi quantae sibi utilitati, quanto honori, quanto denique vitae tutamini et praesidio fuerit . . . populares etiam nunc adhuc notae fabulae attestari solent et cantilenae vulgares'.
[74] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 369 noted thtat the war is thus shortened 'to a few harmless episodes in which no actual fighting takes place'.
[75] *Vita Bennonis*, 382-383 'Tum vero assidui experientia laboris et incredibili arte quaerendi dominus Benno episcopo suo eiusque comitibus in tam crudeli morte succurrit, ut eis quotidie sua industria quaesitus panis sufficeret, qui ipsi imperatori, cum in reliquis esset omnibus perspicue victor, valde exiguus aut omnino nullus existeret'.
[76] *Vita Bennonis*, 388-389 'Praeterea autem architectus praecipuus, cementarii operis solertissimus erat dispositor , qua etiam ex re regi supra dicto inseparabili semper fuit familiaritate devinctus'.
[77] *Vita Bennonis*, 388-389 'defectionemque perfidorum anticipare'.

was pivotal to the protection of the king's interests because of his skill in this area. The cleric's resourcefulness and ingenuity had helped protect both Salian kings, but his interventions were pursued without direct violence and were, in any case, discussed in such a way as to justify the king's actions in the first instance.

Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, written from 1073 until his death in 1085, provides another rich source for examples of such royal service.[78] Defending the king's interests was regarded as an archiepiscopal duty. Archbishop Unwan (r. 1013-1029) strengthened Bremen against the plots and attacks of the king's enemies, with the dukes of Saxony characterised as attacking both king and Church. Having forgotten the humility and piety of their own ancestors, according to Adam, the Saxons attacked churches 'obviously richer than the others and further from the emperor's reach', while the archbishops, by contrast, struggled 'for the welfare of the Church and for fidelity to the kings'.[79] Unwan, along with Empress Cunigunde (975-1040), was able to reconcile Henry II with Duke Bernhard II (d. 1059), Adam claiming that the archbishop 'broke the duke's impetuosity by his magnanimity'.[80] For the 'shame of the bishop's wisdom and liberality', the duke agreed to be well-disposed towards the Church and submitted to the emperor, but only after taking the archbishop's counsel.[81] The archbishop's advice, wisdom, and magnanimity, rather than his military feats, thus protected Bremen by resolving a conflict and bringing a rebel to submission, establishing a peace beneficial to all.

Adam also highlighted how Adalbert of Bremen (r. 1043-1072) took part in royal expeditions abroad to secure the freedom of his church. Henry III, marvelling at his 'indefatigable perseverance', made him his chief advisor.[82] Although Adalbert accompanied the emperor on expeditions to Hungary, the lands of the Slavs, Flanders, and Italy, Adam

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[78] See Stephen C. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness* (Philadelphia, 1985), 67-80; Alheydis Plassmann, 'Corrupted by Power - Bishops in Adam of Bremen's Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum', in *Historical and Intellectual Culture in the Long Twelfth Century. The Scandinavian Connection,* ed. Mia Münster-Swendsen, Thomas Kristian Heebøll-Holm, Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn (Durham, 2016), 71-89 for further discussion and bibliography on Adam's portrayal of Adalbert.

[79] Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen,* trans. Francis J. Tschan, ed. Timothy Reuter (New York, 2002), 88; Adam von Bremen, *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte (Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum),* ed. B. Schmeidler, MGH Script. rer. Germ: 2 (Hannover, 1917) 108-109 'illis impugnantibus regem et ecclesiam, istis pro salute ecclesiae ac fidelitate regum certantibus. . . ecclesias huius patriae non dubitavit impugnare, precipue vero nostram, quae et dicior eo tempore ceteris et longinquior videbatur a manu imperatoris'.

[80] Adam of Bremen, *History*, 88; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 109 'Eius impetum viri dicitur noster archiepiscopus Unwan sua magnanimitate taliter refregisse'.

[81] Adam, *History*, 88; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 109 'prae pudore sapientiae ac liberalitatis episcopi'.

[82] *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen,* trans. Francis J. Tschan, 119; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, ed. B. Schmeidler, 147 'infatigabilem eius viri constanciam miratus cesar'.

only wished to discuss the first and last of these expeditions which had 'turned out unhappily for us'.[83] Adam explained that, on Henry III's return from Italy, Adalbert invited the emperor to Bremen, not to test the loyalty of the Danish king as Adalbert had claimed at the time, but that of the Saxon dukes.[84] The archbishop's scheme ended in disaster. On his way to Lesum, the king had to be protected by Adalbert from the ambushes of Count Thietmar, the duke's brother.[85] When the emperor summoned Thietmar to justice, the count agreed to acquit himself in a trial by combat, but was killed by one of his own vassals. This vassal, in turn, was then murdered by Thietmar's son, who was promptly arrested and exiled by the emperor. As Adam lamented, Adalbert's disastrous miscalculation ensured that Thietmar's successors would pursue the church of Bremen with hatred until his own day.[86] Relying on royal favour, Adalbert had badly miscalculated and brought disaster upon his diocese, a marked contrast with the peace achieved by the virtue and counsel of his predecessor.

The archbishop's service in Hungary in 1063, where he served as Henry IV's tutor and chief counsellor, provided an opportunity for Adam to present a more positive portrayal of the archbishop's influence.[87] Adalbert's wisdom was, as with Arnold of Selenhofen, especially valued when preparing for war. Adam himself claimed that war was a 'business in which a cleric had hardly any proper part', but noted that the emperor 'would not do without the man whose invincible counsel, he knew from experience, had often overcome his enemies', a fact which the emperor's opponents also recognised.[88] Rebels submitted to the king, but, according to Adam, 'gloried in having been subdued by Adalbert's prudence alone'.[89] The archbishop also helped the emperor defeat enemies on the Empire's borders, whom again the 'emperor reduced by counsel more often than by war'. While it was the emperor here who brought about peace, Adam explained that Henry III had first learnt to spare the humble and tame the proud through the 'admonition and efforts of our

[83] Adam, *History*, 119; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 148 'nobisque ambae infeliciter evenerunt'.
[84] Adam, *History*, 119-120; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 148.
[85] Adam, *History*, 120; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 149.
[86] Adam, *History*, 120-121; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 149-150.
[87] Adam, *History*, 150-151; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 186.
[88] Adam, *History*, 139; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 173 'Tantus apud papam, talis apud cesarem habebatur, ut de publicis rebus absque eius consilio nihil ageretur. Quapropter ubi vix locum habet clericus, nec in procinctu bellorum imperator illum virum dehabere voluit, cuius inexpugnabile consilium sepe ad evincendos expertus est inimicos'.
[89] Adam, *History*, 139; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 173-174 'Sensit hoc callidissimus Italorum dux Bonifacius, item Godafrid, Otto, Balduinus et ceteri, qui regnum tumultibus implentes gravi aemulatione cesarem lassare videbantur, tandemque humiliati sola se infractos Adalberti prudentia gloriati sunt'.

archbishop'.[90] Embassies from abroad, when sending gifts to the emperor, congratulated Adalbert on his wisdom and fidelity, recognising that the 'happy conduct of affairs' stemmed from his counsel.[91] While Adam's criticisms of Adalbert were many, they did not include these accomplishments on behalf of the Salians, in which the archbishop's wisdom and counsel were indispensable in bringing about the largely peaceful subjugation of both internal and external foes.

While the military activities of the German episcopate have often attracted comment, the emphasis of the *vitae* thus proves rather different. The contribution clerics made to imperial campaigns was recognised, but their assistance was primarily discussed in terms of how their support protected or saved lives, with little to no comment on engagement in armed conflict itself, let alone the shedding of blood. Even Benno's ingenuity and resourcefulness extended, at most, to the protection of the king's interests against the treachery of Saxon rebels. However much Henry's castle-building programme in Saxony was regarded as an offensive, novel, and tyrannical action, Benno's contribution was nonetheless framed by his biographer in purely defensive terms. Above all, the opportunity to offer counsel and admonition to the emperor provided a means by which to restrain imperial fury, protect the vulnerable, and secure an honourable peace. Even when imperial campaigns were portrayed as fulfilling the criteria of just war, episcopal interventions were still not about enhancing royal power, but tempering and channelling it towards suitable goals. For the authors of the twelfth-century German *vitae*, episcopal wisdom, counsel, and virtue mattered more than any direct military contribution.

Descriptions of similar activities, undertaken on behalf of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings, are far more difficult to find in the English *vitae*, even when we know such services had been rendered.[92] Benno's skill as an imperial architect invites comparison, for example, with Bishop Gundulf of Rochester (r. 1077-1108) and his role in the construction of royal fortifications, but his *vita* made no mention of this.[93] William of Malmesbury does

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[90] Adam, *History*, 139-140; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 174 'quas imperator sepius consilio domuerat quam bello, monitu et opera nostri pontificis nobile discerns exemplum, parcere subiectis et debellare superbos'.
[91] Adam, *History*, 140; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 174 'Ad hunc nostrae felicitates cumulum accessit hoc . . . pro sapientia et fide eius rebusque bene gestis eius consilio'.
[92] William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* described how Henry I 'leant heavily' on Roger of Salisbury's administrative expertise. Björn Weiler, 'William of Malmesbury, King Henry I, and the Gesta Regum Anglorum', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 31 (2008), 157-176, at 164-165; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. & trans. R.A.B. Mynors, continued by Rodney N. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998-1999), 1: 794-795.
[93] The *Textus Roffensis*, unlike the *vita*, highlighted Gundulf's role as architect. Like Benno, Gundulf was skilled at the work of stone masons. But, unlike his imperial counterpart, the bishop of Rochester was, according

provide a rare example of an Anglo-Saxon bishop offering counsel, but the cleric in fact urged action, rather than restraint. Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne (r. 824-867), William explained, had been 'an important counsellor of great worldly influence' under Ecgberht (r. 802-839) and his son Æthelwulf (r. 839-858), conquering Kent and East Anglia for the king by his 'martial exploits'.[94] Ealhstan recognised, however, that Æthelwulf was of a gentler nature, so 'had assiduously to encourage him to learn the art of kingship' and inspire his 'sloth' to resist the Danes, the bishop himself providing money and gathering the army.[95] While William does not, and presumably could not, provide more detail concerning this rare example of direct military engagement by an English bishop, it is also notable that, aside from his own martial exploits, Ealhstan's role as counsellor was not to act as a restraint, but to use his admonitions to rouse (*stimulare*) the king to action.

There are more significant parallels with William FitzStephen's portrayal of Thomas Becket's time as Henry II's royal chancellor, written 1173 x 1174. The comparison must, of course, be highly qualified. Becket was not yet a member of the English episcopate. Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that the royal services conducted by Benno above, for the Salian kings, were also undertaken by the cleric before he became a bishop. Becket had been an important figure in the English Church before he became archbishop, as archdeacon of Canterbury since 1154 holding several benefices.[96] Just as Benno's biographer included Benno's activities as a cleric in his episcopal *vita*, Becket's earlier royal service is also of interest in a work which viewed those activities as an important prelude to his pontificate. At the same time FitzStephen's portrayal of Becket's chancellorship appears as an outlier, not only among the English *vitae*, but among the Becket biographies themselves, which ignored or criticised his military service in terms of disapproval occasionally echoed by modern historians.[97] Like John of Salisbury and Herbert of Bosham, FitzStephen served Becket as a

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to this source, bullied by William Rufus into royal service. See Gerrard, *Church at War*, 96; Christopher Harper-Bill, 'The Anglo-Norman Church', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge, 2003), 165-190, at 179; *The Life of Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester* , ed. Rodney Thomson (Toronto, 1977), 13, 77. As Thomson noted, the author was far more keen to praise Gundulf's skills as a mediator: *Life of Gundulf*, 50-52.

[94] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 277.

[95] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 276-277, 280-181. William urged his readers to turn to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to 'find much of that kind that he began with courage and completed with success' and mentioned the bishop himself arrived with a force at a subsequent battle and destroyed the enemies he found there.

[96] Gerrard, *Church at War*, 46-47.

[97] Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, 209-210 on this point as well as David Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1971), 39; Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), 38-59 and the occasional tone of John Hosler, 'The Brief Military Career of Thomas Becket', *Haskins Society Journal* 15 (2004), 88-100, especially 89. William

clerk before 1162, and his work provides an 'unparalleled witness to Thomas's life as chancellor'.[98] John of Salisbury and William of Canterbury emphasised that Becket did not enjoy the worldliness of the office, and Edward Grim condemned the death, persecution, and destruction Becket had brought upon the king's enemies.[99] As Staunton noted, 'to write about Thomas the saint was to advance an argument' and to defend his record.[100] It is thus significant that, as Gerrard and Nakashian have recognised, FitzStephen's account of royal service was neither apologetic nor does it appear, as has been suggested, a mere attempt to point a contrast with Becket's later character as archbishop.[101] The *vita* instead portrayed Becket's time as chancellor, spent in service to both the king and the realm, as a firm foundation of virtue for his later career, with notable parallels with the German examples discussed above.

FitzStephen characterised Becket as a hard-working chancellor, who discharged his duties with honour for the benefit of Church and realm. Indeed, FitzStephen claimed, it was 'not certain whether he was more noble, more magnificent, and more useful to the king in the business of peace than he was in the business of war'.[102] He stressed the importance of Becket's office: the chancellor was second only to the king, held the other part of the king's seal, was responsible for the royal chapel, could attend any council without a direct summons, with all royal documents sealed by his clerks and everything carried out according to his advice.[103] Becket's responsibilities were thus impressive and already included a degree of oversight over ecclesiastical affairs. Crucially, though, FitzStephen stressed that Becket exercised his office in a manner which benefited both God and the realm. Becket played a particularly important role in restoring royal authority after the Anarchy, a period in which, FitzStephen lamented, warfare had shaken the kingdom, native lords had been disinherited,

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Urry, *Thomas Becket: His Last Days*, ed. Peter A. Rowe (Stroud, 1999), 3-5 claimed 'Becket's military activities are not attractive to the modern mind' and condemned them in the strongest terms.

[98] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 4.

[99] Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, 210-211; For Edward Grim's criticism, see *MTB* 2: 365.

[100] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 13 as well 56-62 on FitzStephen, describing the *vita* as the 'most appealing' of the *Lives*.

[101] Gerrard, *Church at War*, 225-227; Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, 211-212. Staunton suggested that FitzStephen included the embassy to the French king, as well as the military activities, to heighten a contrast between Becket's earlier life and his pontificate. Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 59. For a similiar argument see, Jane P. Martindale, '"An Unfinished Business": Angevin Politics and the Siege of Toulouse (1159)', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23 (2001), 115–154.

[102] *The Lives of Thomas Becket*, trans. Michael Staunton (Manchester, 2001), 48; *MTB* 3:18 'ut in incerto sit, nobilior, magnificentior, et regi utilior fuerit in pacis an in bellicis negotiis'. I have slightly modified Staunton's translation.

[103] *Lives of Thomas Becket*, 48; *MTB* 3: 18.

and the realm occupied by thieves and Flemish mercenaries.[104] Contemporaries had assumed that it would be impossible to expel the mercenaries or restore the kingdom to its former dignity and peace, 'particularly since the new king was a young man'.[105] The subsequent restoration of royal authority, the expulsion of mercenaries, and the destruction of illegal castles was then attributed, by FitzStephen, to 'the mercy of God, the advice of the chancellor and the clergy and the barons of the kingdom'.[106] FitzStephen enthusiastically praised the transformation wrought by peace:

> 'Ancient rights were restored to the disinherited. Brigands came forth from their wooded hiding-places to the vills, and all rejoiced in peace. Swords were beaten into ploughshares, lances into scythes. Thieves too, in fear of the gallows, occupied themselves in agriculture or other labouring tasks. Peace was everywhere. Shields were imported, cabbages were exported. Traders went out safely from their cities and castles, and Jews to demanding creditors.'[107]

This prosperous peace was credited especially to the 'industry and counsel of the chancellor'.[108] Under Becket's influence, the king refrained from simony and the realm was enriched, with widespread prosperity.[109] Becket undertook numerous other deeds on the king's behalf to strengthen the realm, including repairing the Palace of London with remarkable speed and educating the king's son.[110] Like Adalbert of Bremen, Becket was involved in diplomatic missions, sent by the king to request the marriage of his son to the daughter of the king of France, the enterprise itself guided by Becket's counsel.[111] According to FitzStephen, Becket prepared himself for the journey by taking into account the importance of his office and the individuals involved, and then displaying 'the opulence of England's luxury' to honour his royal master.[112] The French, on seeing the display, exclaimed

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[104] *Lives of Thomas Becket,* 49; *MTB,* 3: 18-19.
[105] *Lives of Thomas Becket,* 49; *MTB* 3: 19 'maxime novo rege adolescente'. I have slightly modified Staunton's translation.
[106] *Lives of Thomas Becket,* 49; *MTB* 3: 19 'consilio cancellarii, et cleri et baronum regni'. I have slightly modified Staunton's translation.
[107] *Lives of Thomas Becket,* 49; *MTB* 3: 19 'exhaeredatis iura paterna restituntur; de sylvarum latibulis ad villas prodeunt latrones, et communi gaudentes pace teneri, conflant gladios in vomeres, lanceas in falces. Territi a furcis fures similiter agriculturae, aliarumve artium mechanicarum, fiunt exercitatores. Pax ubique est; clypei importantur, caulae exportantur: exeunt securi ab urbibus et castris ad nundinas negotiatores, ad creditores repetendos Judaei'. I have slightly modified Staunton's translation.
[108] *Lives of Thomas Becket,* 49; *MTB* 3: 19 'huius cancellarii industria et consilio'.
[109] *Lives of Thomas Becket,* 49; *MTB* 3: 19.
[110] *Lives of Thomas Becket,* 50-51; *MTB* 3: 19-20.
[111] *Lives of Thomas Becket,* 55; *MTB* 3: 29.
[112] *Lives of Thomas Becket,* 55; *MTB* 3: 29 'luxus Anglicani opulentiam'.

'wondrous is the king of England, whose chancellor goes forth such and so great a man'.[113] FitzStephen responded to any accusation of undue worldliness, by pointing that such display had been a self-conscious attempt to serve the king and reflect his royal authority. While we will examine Becket's military actions below, we can see here how FitzStephen praised Becket's activities as chancellor, because they benefited the realm by securing peace and enhancing royal authority. The attention to peace in FitzStephen's portrayal of Becket is, indeed, reminiscent of the portrayal of episcopal behaviour we encountered in the German *vitae*. Although not yet a bishop, Becket, too, had helped forge a peace which, as FitzStephen stressed, was naturally of greatest benefit to the Church and those in most need of protection.

Episcopal biographers in Germany and, on one occasion, in England thus pointed to the benefits kings accrued from the loyal service of their prelates. That assistance took several forms, but especially important was the wisdom a bishop could provide in times of crisis, including through the provision of counsel, and even admonition. Royal service certainly did not entail simply increasing the king's authority and allowing him to dominate his enemies. It served a number of higher aims, including the advancement of ecclesiastical interests, the protection of the vulnerable, and the achievement of honourable settlements in line with Augustine's definition of a just peace. Even on well-justified royal campaigns, however, a bishop's responsibility was still to work for peace and to minimise the destruction wrought by conflict. Ideally, defending the king's interests, restoring royal authority, and providing pastoral care would go hand in hand. Episcopal counsel played a part in defeating the king's enemies, but only by securing their peaceful submission, or teaching kings to adopt the same approach. Finally, in the Empire royal service also enhanced a bishop's reputation, and that of the diocese, his familiarity with the king and pre-eminence in the realm as a whole marking him out from the other princes. The lack of similar descriptions concerning the English episcopate is striking and, as we shall see below, stands in striking contrast to the more frequent discussions of the spiritual support they provided to their kings.

Military involvement and feats of arms

The direct military power wielded by the episcopate, both through their presence on the battlefield and the supply of soldiers, also received comment, but again with a marked concern for peace and restraint. This characteristic, once again, applies more to the German than the English *vitae*. In the Empire, service to kings was, in the eyes of episcopal

[113] *MTB* 3: 31 'Dicunt Franci, "Mirabilis est ipse rex Anglorum, cuius cancellarius talis et tantus incedit"'.

biographers, on occasion a burden and, at all times, a means to pursue a number of higher ideals, be that the protection of the vulnerable or the pursuit of benefits for one's diocese. By contrast, when royal service was portrayed by English authors, it was far less qualified. Royal service was itself a higher ideal, one that justified clerical participation in warfare and even the pursuit of aggressive, rather than restrained, violence.

Despite the financial strain and social unrest the emperor's demands had caused in Mainz itself, the author of the *Vita Arnoldi* nonetheless took pride in the contingent that the archbishop provided for the emperor's army. Arnold left Mainz with a powerful army of 140 knights 'in royal splendour', the *Vita* dwelling on the equipment provided by the archbishop and the strength of his soldiers.[114] But Arnold also kept them disciplined and forbade any looting or unnecessary bloodshed on pain of their lives and possessions.[115] This concern to restrain violence, while directed in the first instance at his own following, extended to the royal army as a whole, the archbishop lamenting the devastation experienced in Lombardy.[116] Nonetheless, Arnold worked hard to secure the emperor's success, pursuing the siege of Milan with great determination, establishing a well-fortified camp, and bringing his 'counsel, strength, greatness, and unlimited powers of all kinds' to bear, honouring the Church and the Empire more than any other prince in the process.[117] While he showed empathy for the enemy, and regretted unnecessary destruction, Arnold's pastoral concerns sat easily alongside his role as a commander of his military contingent. Competitive display among the princes mattered alongside pastoral concern and the virtuous restraint of royal power.

Few episcopal biographies or *gesta* made more of their subject's martial prowess than Balderich's *Deeds of Albero,* the archbishop of Trier (r. 1131-1151). Many scholars have been struck by the militant tone of the *Gesta,* regarding Albero as an archetypal warrior bishop. Björn Weiler described how the work contains few references to divine law or moral constraints, instead presenting an episcopal type especially typical of twelfth-century Germany: the bishop who fought as a territorial ruler.[118] Stephanie Haarländer noted how the traditional power dynamic between king and bishop is reversed in the work, with the king

[114] *Vita Arnoldi*, 96-97 'regio apparatu'.
[115] *Vita Arnoldi*, 96-97.
[116] *Vita Arnoldi*, 96-97.
[117] *Vita Arnoldi*, 98-99 'Quanta vero strennuitate in Mediolanensium se obsidione habuerit; quantumve consilio viribus magnificencia munificencia et omniformi virtute inestimabiliter ecclesiam Dei et imperium super omnes principes honoravit'. (check).
[118] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 176-179.

forced to seek Albero's *familaritas*.[119] Oskar Köhler characterised Albero as a 'swashbuckler' (*Haudegen*) whose enthusiasm for warfare knew no bounds and who differed from his lay opponents only in his use of 'spiritual slogans'.[120] In this regard, he offered a vivid example for Köhler of how the Empire's earlier spiritual and political unity, under the Ottonians, had turned to petty territorial competition and strife by the twelfth century.[121] Hatto Kallfelz also thought that the *Gesta* marked the development of the prince-bishoprics, emphasising the worldliness of the work, claiming any sense of holiness had receded and that the special character of the 'royal priesthood' had been lost.[122] While such judgements are correct insofar as the *Gesta* concentrated overwhelmingly on Albero's martial skill, they overlook an aspect of Albero's behaviour that has received far less attention, namely a recurrent concern with limiting conflict and bloodshed in a manner similar to our examples above.[123]

Albero's relationship to royal power was certainly not that of Adalbert or Becket. His authority was measured by his ability to intimidate even kings. King Lothar III (r. 1125-1137) was unwilling to invest Albero with his regalia because he had already been consecrated, a violation of the Concordat of Worms. Balderich claimed that

> 'it was believed that the king himself would have utterly opposed Albero, except that he knew that Albero was a great man, who could easily have aroused the whole territory of his empire against him.'[124]

The king instead 'accepted a facile explanation'.[125] The language Balderich used here - Albero arousing the whole world (*totus orbis*), the king accepting a trivial, even capricious, excuse (*levis*) - stressed the archbishop's ability to outface the king. The passage feels somewhat strained. Albero was thus urged by the princes to swear that he had not intended to diminish the king's honour and that the Pope had forced him to accept consecration (this was the capricious excuse to which Balderich referred). Albero agreed to the demand, implying his subordination on several fronts and somewhat undercutting any triumphalism. Perhaps

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[119] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 347.
[120] Köhler, *Das Bild,* 117.
[121] Köhler, *Das Bild,* 117-128.
[122] *Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts,* trans. H. Kallfelz (Darmstadt, 1973), 27-31.
[123] Timothy Reuter noted, however, that Albero's territorial activities could be framed in terms of pastoral care and the securing of peace. Reuter, '"Episcopi cum sua militia"', 92.
[124] *A Warrior Bishop of the Twelfth Century. The Deeds of Albero of Trier, by Balderich,* trans. Brian A. Pavlac (Toronto, 2008), 50-51; *Gesta Alberonis,* MGH SS:8, 250-251 'et omnino, ut credebatur, rex se ei opposuisset, nisi quod ipsum talem virum esse sciebat, qui facile totum orbem sui imperii contra ipsum commoveret'.
[125] *Warrior Bishop,* 50-51; *Gesta Alberonis,* 250-251 'unde et levem satisfactionem ab ipso recepit'.

conscious of this, Balderich quickly provided a further illustration of the bishop's authority: Albero excommunicated the king's brother at the same court, even forcing him to leave the church on Easter Sunday.[126] Balderich does not provide a reason for the act and it simply appears as a demonstration of Albero's authority. The placement of the incident is perhaps telling. Balderich had no other source to corroborate his claim that Lothar feared Albero's power, but referencing the excommunication of a close relative of the king would vanquish any doubts among his audience that Lothar was right to fear the metropolitan's power.

Further evidence of royal respect and recognition of Albero's material and military might is provided throughout the *Gesta*. Balderich explained that Albero accompanied the king on an expedition to Italy because the archbishop wished to recover the abbey of Saint Maximin. Although Albero was meant to provide 100 knights by the king's assessment, he only brought 67.[127] In addition to this apparent obstinacy, Albero's importance is also underlined by the fact that, during the expedition, the future Conrad III (r. 1138-1152) befriended the archbishop 'because he saw the strength and spirit of the kingdom manifested in him'.[128] On Lothar's death, Albero 'worked with all his energy and against almost all the princes of the kingdom had Conrad elevated to the kingship'.[129] Balderich emphasised the importance of Albero's 'hard work' in gathering supporters and then claimed that the archbishop himself elevated Conrad to the kingship, conducting him to Aachen and anointing him king.[130] Conrad's succession to the throne was thus attributed to the archbishop's *studium* and *industria*. The king had, in fact, been consecrated by the papal legate Dietwin, assisted by Albero but also, more importantly, by Arnold, archbishop-elect of Cologne (r. 1138-1151).[131]

A further incident recorded by Balderich, though clearly intended to demonstrate that Conrad's fate was in Albero's hands, also serves to contradict the archbishop's more bellicose reputation. Upon being crowned, Conrad faced an immediate threat from Henry the Proud, the duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who invited the king to a trial by combat at Hersfeld. On this occasion, Albero arrived with more knights than promised, rather than too few, along

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[126] *Warrior Bishop,* 50-51; *Gesta Alberonis*, 250-251; See Brian. A. Pavlac, 'Excommunication and Territorial Politics in High Medieval Trier', *Church History* 60 (1991), 20-36.
[127] *Warrior Bishop,* 53; *Gesta Alberonis*, 251.
[128] *Warrior Bishop,* 54-55; *Gesta Alberonis*, 252 'quia penes eum regni videbat robur et mentem'.
[129] *Warrior Bishop,* 54-55; *Gesta Alberonis*, 252 'omni studio domnus Albero elaborans, contradicentibus fere omnibus regni principibus , eum in regnum sublimari . . . [a word is missing in the manuscript, replaced by the editor with procuravit]'.
[130] *Warrior Bishop,* 55; *Gesta Alberonis*, 252 'magna industria'.
[131] *Warrior Bishop*, 54-55, n. 54.

with an immense quantity of provisions. Albero used this wealth to act as peace-maker, by contrast to Adalbert II, archbishop of Mainz (r, 1138-1141), who, according to Balderich, wished to start a full-scale conflict. Albero, with divine assistance, kept the two armies apart and reconciled all those present by sending them the 30 cartloads of wine he had brought with him. Balderich implored his audience to recognise Albero's subtle ingenuity in this regard and for recognising that wine and other supplies provided an easier means to achieve victory.[132] Although he used his material resources, rather than his counsel, Albero, like the bishops discussed above, succeeded in averting civil war and preventing bloodshed.

As is well-recognised, much of the *Gesta Alberonis* was concerned, not with royal service, but with Albero's military campaigns to extend the boundaries and rights of his diocese. Balderich was at his most emotive when discussing the archbishop's attempts to recover a castle or the abbey of Saint Maximin.[133] Even during these conflicts, while Balderich clearly enjoyed recounting Albero's military prowess, he still emphasised that the bishop often achieved victory without bloodshed. The Count Palatine, for example, surrendered without a fight when confronted by Albero's army.[134] It was precisely because Albero enjoyed a fearsome reputation that he could outface such opponents, forcing them to retreat without engaging in the conflict himself. While Albero's epitaph, as recorded by Balderich, included the line that 'it was his special lot not to be conquered, but to conquer' his conquests were surprisingly non-violent.[135] Albero's material might and his ostentatious display of wealth in fact fulfilled a purpose not dissimilar to that of episcopal counsel and admonition: to prevent conflict and restrain the destructive capabilities of others. By contrast to our earlier examples, however, royal power also mattered here as a measurement of Albero's own resources and standing, with Balderich keen to underscore the bishop's influence in the Empire as a whole and over the royal succession. While Balderich's discussion of Albero's authority was unusual in this respect, the *Gesta* nonetheless reflects several broader themes found in the German *vitae* and *gesta*, in particular the attention paid to restraint and peace-making.

We find similar attempts at mediation in the *Gesta* of the bishops of Cambrai. While the *Gesta* is most famous for a passage in which Bishop Gerard of Cambrai (r. 1012-1051) condemned episcopal oversight of peace-making in the Peace of God movement, the work

[132] *Warrior Bishop*, 55-56; *Gesta Alberonis*, 252.
[133] *Warrior Bishop*, 54-57; *Gesta Alberonis*, 251-252.
[134] *Warrior Bishop*, 66-68; *Gesta Alberonis*, 255-256.
[135] *Warrior Bishop*, 77; *Gesta Alberonis*, 259 'Huic speciale fuit, non vinci, vincere'.

also includes an account of how the bishop, during a tumultuous royal succession, 'attempted to steer the others [bishops] towards the grace of peace'.[136] A *Life* of Hartmann of Brixen (r. 1140-1164), written around 1200, also claimed that the bishop in question was a tireless mediator for peace.[137] We shall see in chapter 4 that the mediatory function of the episcopate, so prized by German episcopal biographers, proved especially important when those same authors came to describe the Investiture Contest.

If we return again to the *Gesta Alberonis*¸ Balderich pointed out that Albero had an ulterior motive when accompanying King Lothar to Italy. The bishop had attended the expedition to recover an abbey and, even then, had turned up with a smaller contingent than promised. This conforms to a further pattern, one particular to the German *vitae*, which stressed episcopal reluctance to participate in royal service, with biographers taking a dim view of attempts to enforce attendance. We have already seen how the *Vita Arnoldi* portrayed the archbishop as seeking to excuse himself from royal service, with his entreaties falling on deaf ears. Other examples confirm that emperors did not recognise infirmity as a sufficient excuse. A *Life* of Balderich of Liège (r. 1008-1018), written between 1100 and 1110, claimed that the bishop tried to excuse himself from military service, as Burchard of Worms had, on account of sickness.[138] Henry II had asked Duke Gozelo of Lorraine to gather forces to attack the rebellious Count Dietrich of Friesland. Balderich politely refused the emperor's request, apologised for his illness, and, like Arnold above, pointed out that he had served the ruler on many other occasions and wished to be spared on this one occasion, especially as the campaign was far away and the terrain would prove difficult. Duke Gozelo furiously accused the bishop of contempt for the emperor, pointing out the bishop's apparent kinship with the rebel count. Balderich was forced to go on the campaign, but died before battle took place.[139] Balderich was far from alone in being accused of infidelity because of his links to the emperor's opponents. During Henry IV's campaigns in Saxony against Archbishop Werner of Magdeburg (r. 1063-1078) and Burchard of Halberstadt (r. 1059-1088), the *Vita Annonis*, written 1104/1105, described how the king accused Anno of Cologne (r. 1056-1075) of

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[136] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai: Translation and Commentary*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach, David S. Bachrach, and Michael Leese (New York, 2018), 217; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, MGH SS 7, 485 'sed conabatur eos ad pacis redigere gratiam'. As has been pointed out, the work also highlighted how the legitimate use of military force was dependent on royal authority. *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*, 19-21.
[137] Keupp, 'Die zwei Schwerter', 11-12 who pointed out that the bishop, in the manner of St Martin, engaged in territorial warfare, but reclaimed castles by standing in front of the besieged, unarmoured, and announcing he would not move until they surrendered, rather than using violence; *Vita beati Hartmanni Episcopi Brixiensis (1140-64)*, ed. Anselm Sparber (Innsbruck, 1940), 54, 56.
[138] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 355-356 for further discussion; *Vita Balderici*, MGH SS 4, 735.
[139] *Vita Balderici*, MGH SS 4, 735.

disloyalty for being reluctant to campaign against his brother and nephew.[140] In each instance, the unremitting severity of the king's command was made clear by the episcopal biographer and the ruler is portrayed as deaf to even reasonable objections. We thus encounter in the German *vitae* both implied criticisms of the king, on the part of the biographers themselves, and suggestions of considerable reluctance on behalf of their bishops.

We have already seen how German episcopal biographers could downplay episcopal involvement in armed conflict. On occasion, the bishop's contribution, in any form, is almost written out altogether. The *Life* of Evraclus of Liège (959-971), written by Reiner between 1161 and 1187, claimed that the bishop used the opportunity of a royal campaign, not to fight on the king's behalf, but to write poetry for the masters of his cathedral school back home.[141] On another occasion, when the royal army was terrified by a solar eclipse, the bishop alone remained calm, scolded the men for their timidity, and tried to explain the occurrence to them.[142] While other authors were happy to discuss the involvement of German bishops in military campaigns, the *Vita Evracli* reduced the bishop's contribution to the provision of elegant verse and a lecture on astronomy. The *Life* of Conrad of Salzburg (r. 1106-1147), written in the early 1170s, displayed a more principled objection to military action. As with the *Gesta Alberonis*¸ the *Vita* emphasised the bishop had so many admirers that 'if he had desired to place his hope in arms, he could have disturbed the entire kingdom'.[143] Although Conrad faced royal persecution in his diocese, he 'never approached war, never sought the defence of military strength, as Christ who dwelt in him governed his heart', instead fleeing to the protection of Matilda of Tuscany.[144] When the *Vita* described the bishop's participation in Henry V's (r. 1099-1125) campaign to Rome in 1110, the author did not portray Conrad as acting in competition with the nobility, but claimed he attended 'with far different purpose and appearance than any of the other princes'.[145] While they 'followed the king fortified by soldiers and arms, prepared to enforce his will in all things', the archbishop instead,

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[140] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 356; *Vita Annonis*, MGH SS 11, 492.
[141] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 369; *Vita Evracli*, MGH SS 20, 562.
[142] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 369-370; *Vita Evracli*, MGH SS 20, 563.
[143] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 64 'ut si in armis spem ponere voluisset, totum posset regnum turbare'.
[144] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 64 'nunquam bellum aggressus est, militaris virtutis presidium nunquam quesivit, gubernante cor eius qui in eo habitabat Christo'.
[145] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'Interfuit huic expeditioni cum aliis principibus etiam Chuonradus Salzpurgensis archiepiscopus, longe tamen alia intentione et forma, quam quisquam aliorum principum'.

> 'desired to serve an earthly and mortal king in such a way that he might faithfully render the necessary service to the eternal heavenly king by whom he knew it had been commanded: render that which is Caesars, to Caesar, and that which is God's, to God.'[146]

Although the *Vita* made clear that Conrad commanded 'excellent and hard-working soldiers', he nonetheless wished to be a 'servant of peace rather than war'. Like Arnold of Selenhofen, he forbad his men to engage in private feuds or assaults, forcing his steward, a wealthy and powerful knight, to excuse himself from his service.[147] Conrad, like St Martin, thus claimed to be a soldier of Christ and forbidden to fight. The author even claimed that Conrad went beyond the saint's example:

> 'And Martin indeed, while he was still a catechumen on account of the devotion of his mind, had believed that it was forbidden to him to wage war even against enemies of the state and pagans: but he [Conrad], thinking more deeply, considered it profane to take up arms against Christians, who were neither adverse to the faith nor proscribed by the laws, and thus to contaminate the sacrament of priestly ordination.'[148]

The *Life of Conrad* thus went beyond the other *vitae.* Rather than championing the bishop's role as peacemaker or mediator, Conrad refused to fight at all, though this stance did not extend to a complete refusal to accompany the king on campaign. Alongside the positive treatments of royal service found in the German *vitae*, which included opportunities for bishops to admonish kings and to demonstrate their political and military might, we also have accounts that portrayed royal demands as a burden, one from which bishops tried to excuse themselves at best, or which they regarded as a threat to their moral integrity at worst.

In the English *vitae,* accounts of clerical involvement in royal campaigns are far fewer and often far less detailed. A rare exception is offered by William FitzStephen, again concerning Becket's time as chancellor. Becket's military service later became the most

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[146] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'Illi siquidem, prout quisque poterat, militia et armis muniti regem sequebantur, voluntatem illius per omnia promovere parati. Iste vero militare sic regi terreno et mortali cupiebat, ut caelesti sempiterno debitum fideliter prestaret obsequium, a quo preceptum noverat: Reddite quae sunt cesaris, cesari, et quae sunt Dei, Deo'.

[147] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'Unde quamvis egregios secum haberet et strennuos milites, pacis tamen potius quam belli minister esse desiderans...'.

[148] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'Et ille quidem adhuc catechumenus propter mentis devotionem illicitum sibi credidit etiam contra hostes rei publicae et paganos bellum gerere: iste autem altius cogitans, arma corripere contra christianos neque fidei neque legibus adversos aut proscriptos, et sacerdotalis ordinationis sacramentum contaminare, profanum arbitrabatur'.

controversial aspect of his chancellorship, attacked remorselessly by Gilbert Foliot (r. 1163-1187).[149] FitzStephen did not shy away from Becket's involvement, but rather applauded his martial prowess. When Henry II (r. 1154 -1189) laid siege to Toulouse, Becket contributed 700 knights from his household. FitzStephen even claimed that, had Becket's advice been taken, the city would have fallen and been captured. Becket urged the king to be aggressive, claiming that Louis VII had abdicated his position as Henry's liege lord by violating their agreements, but Henry was 'led astray by vain regard and reverence for the counsel of others'.[150] Despite the king's defeat, Becket still managed to gain glory, donning his hauberk, conquering three seemingly impregnable castles, and pursuing the enemy while others retreated.[151] In 1161, when war broke out again between Henry and Louis in La Marche, the chancellor led a huge force, with FitzStephen dwelling on Becket's skill as a warrior and military commander. Although, a clerk, Becket still managed to unhorse a famous French warrior, while the chancellor's knights were 'always first, always the most daring, always performed excellently, as he himself taught, led, and urged them on'.[152] Despite opposing the French king, Becket found great favour with him 'on the basis of [Becket's] outstanding merits of faith and remarkable nobility'.[153]

Not unlike some of the authors of the German *vitae*, FitzStephen focused on the size, magnificence, and skill of Becket's retinue. Still, by contrast to them, he depicted Becket urging a more aggressive military strategy, without regard for the person of the French king. Unlike the German episcopate, Becket also received considerable praise for his personal prowess as a warrior and field commander. Accounts of clerics leading royal armies before their elevation to the episcopate are few in the German *vitae*, but, when compared to the depiction of Benno for example, FitzStephen's portrayal is still striking. John Hosler noted that FitzStephen was the only biographer of Becket to 'deign' to discuss his military career.[154] This misses the point. FitzStephen clearly did not see any tension between Becket's activities as cleric and warrior. In fact, he reminded his audience of Becket's clerical status at the very moment he praised him for unhorsing an enemy knight.[155] In FitzStephen's eyes,

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[149] Gerrard, *Church at War*, 46, 189-190.
[150] *Lives of Thomas Becket*, 57; *MTB*, 3: 33 'vana superstitione et reverentia rex tentus consilio aliorum'.
[151] *Lives of Thomas Becket*, 57; *MTB*, 3: 34.
[152] *Lives of Thomas Becket*, 58; *MTB*, 3: 35 'Et in toto regis Anglorum exercitu semper primi erant milites cancellarii, semper maiora audebant, semper praeclare faciebant, eo docente, ducente, eo hortante'.
[153] *Lives of Thomas Becket*, 58; *MTB*, 3: 35 'suffragantibus ei meritis fidei praestantis et nobilitatis suae notissimae'.
[154] Hosler, 'The Brief Military Career of Thomas Becket', 89.
[155] Gerrard, *Church at War*, 226 'Becket's military activities are not held in tension with his sacred status, they are part of it'.

Becket excelled at activities regarded as the preserve of the secular elite, proving himself both a better military advisor and warrior than his lay peers.[156] Crucially, these were activities pursued in the context of royal service. In war, as in peace, Becket served the king to the best of his ability. Gerrard has also suggested a more specific context for William's portrayal. He suggested that FitzStephen sought to make the saint's appeal as broad as possible. Placed alongside his activities at court, and the description of London, FitzStephen's Becket provided 'an ideal saint for devotees as disparate as knights, burgesses, ascetics, and courtiers'.[157] While this is plausible, we should also note that FitzStephen's later career may provide an explanation as to why his account of Becket's royal service was so much more positive than that of John of Salisbury and Herbert of Bosham. Unlike the others, FitzStephen had not accompanied the archbishop into exile.[158] Whereas Herbert of Bosham was reviled by the court after 1162, FitzStephen retained his links, later made peace with the king, and appears to have drawn upon sources from court. As Staunton noted, it is possible that FitzStephen served as a sheriff and itinerant justice after Becket's murder and it is curious that he appears to have used documents from Gilbert Foliot's archives. He may even have been shunned by the other biographers because of these associations. He was not, for example, included in Herbert of Bosham's list of Becket's *eruditi*.[159] FitzStephen's continued association with the royal court may have inclined him, more than any other biographer, to stress the value of Becket's earlier service to the king.

FitzStephen's portrayal of a cleric engaged in such activities was rare, but not entirely unique among English episcopal biographers. Important parallels emerge in Gerald of Wales's *vita* of Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop of York (r. 1189-1212), written around 1193.[160] As Gerrard noted, Geoffrey's progression from secular to ecclesiastical office could have lent itself to the traditional hagiographical model of temporal entanglements followed by spiritual enlightenment.[161] Instead, Gerald emphasised Geoffrey's knightly origins, his close relationship with his father, the king, and his commitment to royal service, with

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[156] Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, 214.
[157] Gerrard, *Church at War*, 226-227, n. 157. This approach may have worked. One devotee, Count Baldwin of Guines, revered Becket in part because of his military activities.
[158] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 4, 57.
[159] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 4, 57; Anne Duggan, 'William fitz Stephen (fl. 1162–1174), biographer of Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9643 accessed 10/08/2018.
[160] Robert Bartlett, 'Gerald of Wales (c.1146–1220x23)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10769 accessed 27/09/2017.
[161] Gerrard, *Church at War*, 227.

Geoffrey's military activities a central focus of the *Vita.*[162] In 1173, the same year that Geoffrey was made bishop-elect of Lincoln, conflict erupted between Henry II and his legitimate sons. The opening chapters of the *Vita* portrayed Geoffrey as fighting a bold and decisive campaign on his father's behalf in northern England. Gerald praised Geoffrey for his patriotism, fidelity, and pastoral concern:

> 'When almost everyone had wavered and either secretly or publicly renounced their fidelity, against the warnings of all his men, he hastened to armed warfare, and decided to fight both for his father and for the country at the same time, and to set himself as a shield for the people with laudable courage.'[163]

Geoffrey quickly seized a supposedly impregnable castle and then assembled a large force of knights to protect York from the Scots. Entering the city as conqueror and liberator, the people kissed his shield, shouted biblical acclamations referencing his piety, and evoked Christ's entry into Jerusalem.[164] Geoffrey may not yet have been a member of the episcopate, but Gerald showed no desire to downplay his religious status; quite the opposite. In the campaign, Geoffrey's unfailing loyalty was his greatest virtue. The *electus* 'helped the father, faithfully, as was proper and naturally'.[165] Gerald summarised,

> 'In fact, to cut a long story short in a few words as a final measure of praise, no serious danger threatened the kingdom, no pressing trouble, in which the man's noble qualities did not shine forth in his natural capacity for exertion.'[166]

When Geoffrey met his father at Huntingdon,

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[162] On Geoffrey's career and the view of contemporaries, see Craig Nakashian, 'All my Sons are Bastards: Geoffrey Plantagenet's Military Service to Henry II', in *Ecclesia & Violentia: Violence against the Church and Violence within the Church in the Middle Ages,* ed. Radoslaw Kotecki and Jacek Maciejewski (Newcastle, 2014), 122-140.

[163] Gerald of Wales, *De Vita Galfridi*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera vol. 4*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1873), 364 [hereafter Gerald, *Vita Galfridi*] 'vacillantibus iam fere cunctis, et a fidelitate vel clam vel palam recedentibus; contra suorum omnium monita ad armatam militiam se proripiens, pro patre simul et patria dimicare, seque pro populo clipeum opponere, laudabili animositate, decrevit.' For the English translation used for this passage, Gerrard, *Church at War*, 220.

[164] Gerrard, *Church at War,* 217.

[165] Gerald, *Vita Galfridi*, 368 'fideliter ut decebat et naturaliter patri filius assistebat'.

[166] Gerald, *Vita Galfridi*, 367 'Quinimmo ut brevi eloquio laudis ad cumulum multa concludam, nullum in regno grave periculum, nullum urgens instabat incommodum, in quo viri virtus innata strenuitate non eniteret.'

> 'the delighted king is reported to have said, in the hearing of many people: "My other sons have shown themselves to be truly bastards, this one alone has shown himself to be legitimate and true"'.[167]

Gerald showed no desire, in these passages, to downplay Geoffrey's status as a bishop-elect. When Geoffrey later resigned the bishopric of Lincoln, like Becket, he fought on behalf of Henry II as the king's chancellor, with Gerald claiming he was entrusted with almost the entire royal army.[168] In Henry II's final conflict with his sons, Geoffrey again proved his fidelity. As Le Mans burned around him, 'so long as the place was defended, he resisted the fire and the enemy, conspicuous among the first and foremost men in courage'.[169] Once the defences were abandoned, with the enemy in pursuit, Geoffrey alone assisted those who had collapsed.[170] Gerald thus catalogued a venerable military career, enhanced by clerical status, one underpinned not only by Geoffrey's loyalty to his father, lord, and king, but also by his pastoral concern for his fellow soldiers and the realm itself.

Gerald's biography showed how Geoffrey had earned the king's love and respect and how he had fought as a good and loyal son, protecting his father's rights.[171] As Balderich claimed of Albero, kings feared and respected Geoffrey's power. Gerald reported that, when Richard heard of the ordination of his half-brother as priest, signalling the end to any ambitions for the throne, he expressed relief to his intimates, confessing that he feared 'the valour of this man and courage of his inborn bravery'.[172] In this regard, Gerald's description shows important parallels with Balderich's description of Albero of Trier, but there are also elements peculiar to English *vitae*. The praise for bold and aggressive military actions, as opposed to restraint and mediation, is unique to the latter. English authors were on the whole reluctant to record, let alone praise, clerical military activity but, when they did, they appear to have shown far less concern regarding the use, or promotion, of aggressive and lethal tactics. If we look briefly beyond *vitae*¸ we can see that Becket and Geoffrey were not alone in this regard. When King Stephen was besieging Exeter, Bishop Henry of Winchester forced his brother to stand firm against the pleas of the enemy and had concluded, from the colour of

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[167] Gerald, *Vita Galfridi*, 368 'rex gavisus in multorum audientia dixisse memoratur: "Alii filii mei se revera bastardos, iste vero solus se legitimum et verum esse probavit".
[168] Gerald, *Vita Galfridi*, 369.
[169] Gerald, *Vita Galfridi*, 369 'quamdiu locum habebat defensio, inter primos et praecipuos animositate conspicuus, igni et hostibus resistebat'
[170] Gerald, *Vita Galfridi*, 369.
[171] Gerrard, *Church at War*, 217, 220-221, 227; Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, 215-228.
[172] Gerald, *Vita Galfridi*, 375 'viri virtutem et innatae strenuitatis animositatem'.

their faces, that they must be close to surrender. The prelate therefore urged the king to starve them out.[173] Although Stephen was unable to follow through this on suggestion, once the siege was complete. Henry's importance was further underlined by the fact that the garrison insisted on surrendering to him, rather than the king. Where in Germany, the primary aim of episcopal counsel was to urge clemency, in England we find very much the opposite.

The English examples discussed so far offer a uniformly positive portrayal of royal service, whereas German *vitae* could display a more ambivalent, even critical attitude. When Gerald sought to have Remigius of Lincoln (r. 1067-1092) canonised, the *vita* he wrote at Lincoln between 1196 and 1199 (revised later for Stephen Langton 1210 x 1214) retained the bishop's role at the Battle of Hastings, even if Gerald reduced the number of knights led by the bishop from twenty to ten.[174] Indeed, while neither Geoffrey Plantagenet nor his biographer had viewed his status as a bishop-elect as being in opposition to his service at court, on his resignation from the bishopric of Lincoln Geoffrey did explain to the Pope that his primary motivation for doing so was to devote more time to the royal service.[175] It is striking that in England the importance of such service, and of royal authority and the royal court more generally, was made clear even in the king's absence. In accounts of the Battle of the Standard (1138), fought while Stephen was waging war on rebels in southern England, Thurstan, archbishop of York (r. 1114-1140), was praised for defending the north and for animating his men 'by his counsel and exhortations'.[176] While Thurstan had a pastoral duty to protect his flock, he was also providing leadership in the king's stead. As Richard of Hexham made clear, Thurstan led the army by a royal warrant.[177] Aelred of Rievaulx's description has the archbishop proclaim to his men before battle that

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[173]Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, 190. *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. K.R. Potter, intro. R.H.C. Davis (Oxford, 1976), 41.

[174] Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, 138; Gerald of Wales, *Vita Sancti Remigii*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera vol. 7*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1877),), xi, 14; David Bates, *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln 1067–1092* (Lincoln, 1992), 6, 35 suggested that the alteration was designed to 'smooth over' the more controversial aspects of the bishop's career with ten knights 'not half as bad' as twenty. As Nakashian has pointed out, this begs the question as to why Gerald did not eliminate the story entirely, or alter Remigius's role in the battle, especially given he was happy to make substantial modifications elsewhere. Nakashian concluded that 'what is striking is that Gerald did not ignore Remigius's role in battle; he retold it as part of the story why Remigius deserved canonization'.

[175] Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, 220 for further discussion.

[176] Richard of Hexham, *The Acts of Stephen, and the Battle of the Standard*, in *The Church Historians of England vol. 4:1*, ed. and trans. Joseph Stevenson (London, 1856), 47-48; Richard of Hexham, *De Gestis Regis Stephani et de Bello Standardii*, in *Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett 4 vols, RS 82 (London, 1886), 1: 160 'sermone ac consilio suo illos animasset'.

[177] Richard of Hexham, *The Acts of Stephen, and the Battle of the Standard*, *The Church Historians of England*, ed. and trans. Joseph Stevenson Vol. 4:1 (London, 1856), 47-48.

> 'We are not undertaking an unjust war on behalf of our king, who has not invaded a kingdom not rightfully his, as enemies falsely claim, but has accepted it when it was offered, he whom the people sought, the clergy chose, the pope anointed, and apostolic authority confirmed in his kingdom.'[178]

The war fought by Thurstan and the army was thus just, fought on behalf of a legitimate public authority, sanctioned by popular, divine, clerical, and papal mandate. St Augustine would have been pleased. Thurstan then implored the army to

> 'Think of your absent king, how great will be your glory when you have won a triumph over a king without a king. Yours will be the court, yours the kingdom; everything will be done by your counsel through whom today a kingdom is sought for the king, peace for the kingdom, and glory for the peace. The king will say that he has been crowned again today by your hands.'[179]

The emphasis was once again on securing a glorious peace, but it is telling that the highest reward the army could achieve was described in terms of dominating the royal court and having the kingdom run by their counsel. As we will see in the following chapter, the importance of the royal court, and of episcopal counsel, proves a prominent theme throughout the English *vitae* as a whole. In the present context, however, it provides further evidence of how, even in the absence of a king, military service could be portrayed as virtuous and divinely sanctioned, with the glory of victory measured by its association with royal authority.

Still, some English hagiographers felt uneasy about the military activities of prelates. Indeed, however positive FitzStephen's description of Becket's chancellorship might have been, no other biographer of Becket took the same approach. Even where *vitae* do survive of

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[178] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Relatio de Standardo*, in *Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* ed. Richard Howlett, 4 vols, RS 82 (London, 1884-1889), 3: 187 'Sed non iniustum bellum pro rege nostro suscipimus, qui regnum non, ut hostes calumpniantur, invasit indebitum, sed suscepit oblatum; quem populus petiit, quem clerus elegit, quem unxit pontifex, quem in regnum Apostolica confirmavit auctoritas'.

[179] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Relatio de Standardo*, 188 'Cogitate regem absentem, quantumque vestrae accedet gloriae, cum reportaveritis de rege sine rege triumphum. Vesta erit curia, vestrum erit regnum, vestris consiliis omnia tractabuntur, per quos hodie regi regnum, regno pax, paci gloria perquiretur: fatebitur rex se hodie manibus vestris iterum coronatum'.

English prelates engaged in royal service, the military component is often downplayed. William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani*¸ written around 1125, mentioned that Wulfstan of Worcester (r. 1062-1095) billeted knights in anticipation of a Danish invasion. William's account is defensive, however, justifying the action as necessary so that all 'could unite to defend the public weal and private fortunes against the barbarian'. This was thus an emergency measure, undertaken in desperate circumstances.[180] William was very much aware, though, of Wulfstan's other military activities. In the *Gesta Pontificum,* the first version of which was completed around 1125, William pointed out that during the siege of Worcester Wulfstan's spiritual powers had blinded those who had rebelled against William Rufus.[181] William's dependence in the *Vita Wulfstani* on the lost Old English life of Wulfstan by Coleman makes it difficult to highlight William's own additions, but the absence of any description of Wulfstan's defence of his diocese is striking given that others, such as John of Worcester, praised Wulfstan's actions.[182] Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (r. 1070 -1089) had also taken the lead in defending royal authority during the rebellion of 1075. His letters to the king implored him not to return to England until the rebellion had been suppressed, as doing so would be a slight to the archbishop's reputation and honour.[183] While Eadmer stressed that Lanfranc was the king's most important counsellor, the archbishop's defensive measures prompted no discussion. Even Milo Crispin's *Vita Lanfranci,* written around 1140, avoided any description of the campaign, although the archbishop was characterised as *princeps et custos Angliae*.[184] Eadmer of Canterbury's *Vita Anselmi,* composed *c.* 1124, presents a similar reluctance to describe Anselm's royal service. Eadmer noted how William Rufus (r. 1087-1100), fresh from a victorious campaign in Wales, had furiously and falsely accused Anselm of providing him with poorly equipped knights.[185] The incident appeared in Eadmer's work as yet another example of Rufus's tyranny and propensity to listen to malicious rumours. Elsewhere, Eadmer had referred to, even if he had not extolled, Anselm's military involvement. In the *Historia Novorum,* he reported that Anselm had loyally

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[180] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani,* in *Saints' Lives. Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 130-131.
[181] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Rodney N. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007), 1: 434.
[182] Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, 170.
[183] Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, 162; *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1979), 124-125.
[184] Milo Crispin, *Vita Lanfranci*, ed. Margaret Gibson, in *Lanfranco di Pavia e l'Europa del secolo XI nel IX centenario della morte*, ed. G. D'Onofrio (Rome, 1993), 711.
[185] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (London, 1962), 88.

supported Henry I (r. 1100-1135) by bringing troops to the king.[186] Anselm's support, in this passage, was likely exaggerated by Eadmer, but even this account is not repeated in the *Vita.*[187] The same is true of Anselm's defence of the southern coast under William Rufus. While Nakashian suggested that this was because the incident came to nothing, Eadmer may have been reluctant to stress Anselm's role in defending Rufus, given his more general characterisation of the king as a tyrant.

In any case, Eadmer's account reflected a broader pattern in the English *vitae* of downplaying direct military contributions. With some important exceptions, authors in England were considerably more reluctant than their German counterparts to discuss such episodes, and on occasion even appear to have suppressed them. When examples of military service were discussed, however, they were often viewed favourably, with royal service presented as a virtuous activity in and of itself, one combined with pastoral concern for the kingdom as a whole. That marks a further important difference from the image of royal service which has emerged from the German *vitae.* In the latter, while descriptions of episcopal assistance to kings during times of war were more common, they were also marked by a sense that royal service itself was a severe burden, one which, at best, offered an opportunity in which more virtuous behaviour could be practiced. A further contrast has emerged in the provision of counsel. While in Germany the advice of bishops focused on restraining kings, in England it enabled or encouraged royal power. Finally, while Albero of Trier's claim of superiority over kings was unusual, even he sought to limit bloodshed and seek a peaceful settlement. Matters were rather different in England, as we have seen in several examples above, and as will become even more apparent in the final section of this chapter. English *vitae* recorded fewer instances of bishops engaging in matters of war, but when they did, the episcopal assistance they described proved far more lethal than that of their German counterparts.

Miraculous and moral support for kings

English writers were far from reticent when it came to describing bishops wielding spiritual weapons on behalf of the king. Eadmer's *Vita Sancti Odonis*, probably written around 1100, included several examples.[188] Eadmer recalled a well-known incident in which

[186] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule (London, 1884), 81.
[187] Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen*, 167-168.
[188] Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J Turner (Oxford, 2006), xxxv-xxxvi.

Oda of Canterbury (r. 941-958) was said to have saved the life of King Æthelstan (r. 924-939) at the battle of Brunanburh (937). Eadmer explained that a vast heathen army had assembled to subjugate the English and obliterate their most sacred Christian laws. Eadmer claimed that Æthelstan 'had brought blessed Oda into battle with him, trusting that he would defeat the enemy much more by the merits of this man than with hordes of soldiers'.[189] During the fighting, the king's sword was shattered and he was left exposed to the enemy. Oda, meanwhile

> 'stood somewhat removed from the fighting, praying to Christ with his lips and in his heart for the safety of the Christian army, and for the sake of this continually raised his face, hand, and eyes to those in heaven.'[190]

The king was paralysed, thinking 'it unspeakable to take a weapon from one of his men'.[191] When the heathens noticed, they rushed forward to avenge themselves for their earlier retreat, and Eadmer claimed that all cried out to God, and Oda, for assistance. The bishop raced to the king's side and asked

> 'What is the problem? What is worrying you? Your blade hangs intact at your side and yet you complain that it is broken. Come to your senses, extend your hand to the sheath, draw the sword and, behold, the right hand of the Lord shall be with you. And be not afraid, since the sun will not set until either flight or destruction envelops the enemies of your Lord who have risen against you.'[192]

Oda's instruction alluded to the Battle of Gibeon in the Old Testament, where Joshua had slaughtered the Canaanites after asking God to make the sun stand still until his enemies were slain.[193] Oda's own words had an equally miraculous effect. Witnesses were amazed to see the king's sword reappear.[194] Snatching up the weapon, and taking comfort in God, Æthelstan slaughtered the enemy, with the sun not setting until the king had achieved victory. Eadmer celebrated the deed, exclaiming

> 'Who could ever recount the thanks, praises, and prayers rendered to God on account of this miracle by his faithful servant Oda, the king, the victorious army, and the

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[189] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis,* in *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald,* ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J Turner (Oxford, 2006), 12-13.
[190] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis,* 14-15.
[191] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis,* 14-15.
[192] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis,* 14-15.
[193] Joshua 10:12-15.
[194] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis,* 14-15.

> entire kingdom when the magnitude of that victory was proclaimed? The very greatness of the deed itself will instruct those who hear of it, since no man can easily do so. And from that time onwards the glorious Oda was regarded by all men with great admiration and was acknowledged to be truly an illustrious son of the house of Israel.'[195]

Eadmer thus associated Æthelstan's most famous victory with a miraculous intervention by the archbishop. In Eadmer's portrayal, the king had already brought Oda to the battlefield to pray and prostrate himself to Heaven on the army's behalf, with apparently little foreknowledge of the crisis that would ensue. The king himself appears as valiant and honourable, refusing to disarm one of his own men. Both bishop and king thus emerged from Eadmer's account with their reputations enhanced.

Eadmer also referred to the event in his *Vita et Miracula Sancti Oswaldi*, composed possibly between 1113 and 1116, to contextualise Oswald's introduction to 'the most victorious king of the English'.[196] Once more Eadmer explained that the king had taken Oda to battle 'since he believed his merits would defeat the enemy', describing how Oda stood apart from the battle, his hands extended to Heaven in prayer for the army.[197] Both accounts make clear that Æthelstan asked for Oda's participation so that he could provide moral and spiritual assistance. The episode was widely known. William of Malmesbury included accounts of Æthelstan's miraculous rescue in the *Gesta Pontificum*, attributing it variously to Oda, Aldhelm (d. 709), the first abbot of Malmesbury, and Theodred, bishop of London (r. 909 x 926 – 951 x 953).[198] As late as the 1170s, the *Chronicle* of Ramsey abbey included an account similiar to the one provided by William of Malmesbury, placing the miracle in the context of a surprise night attack on the English camp. Like Eadmer, the *Chronicle* claimed that the king brought Oda on the campaign after insisting he required his merits. The author added that the sword, miraculously provided by Oda, had been preserved in the royal treasury until the author's own day.[199] Reconciling the different versions of this story was not really

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[195] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis,* 14-15.
[196] Eadmer, *Vita et Miracula Sancti Oswaldi,* in *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J Turner (Oxford, 2006), 218-219.
[197] Eadmer, *Vita et Miracula Sancti Oswaldi,* 218-219 'memoratum Odonem cuius meritis se quam maxime credebat hostem uicturum in aciem duxit'.
[198] See William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum,* 1: 26-27 (Oda), 228-231 (Oda and Theodred), 592-593 (Aldhelm). William pointed out to his readers that Theodred was still well-remembered by the Londoners of his own day. See Thomson's commentary in *Gesta Pontificum,* 2*:* 28, 92, 294-295. In William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, 1: 208-209 the miracle was again attributed to Aldhelm.
[199] Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J. Turner suggested that it was possible Eadmer drew upon a work describing St Oswald which was then partly preserved in the *Ramsey Chronicle*. They pointed out that Eadmer's account of

the point for authors such as William of Malmesbury: each iteration makes equally clear the power of the English episcopate and their ability to protect the king from mortal peril. In these instances, taken from the Anglo-Saxon past, but still circulating in the twelfth century, the bishop does not engage directly in combat, but stands at a remove, his 'blessed merits' and prayers turning the tide of battle, securing the ruler's safety, and influencing the course of English history. The accounts bear similarities to episodes recounted by Eusebius, Orosius, and Bede, where the 'blessed merits' of saints, such as Ambrose of Milan, and their support for virtuous kings, had similarly guaranteed military victories.

Eadmer's *vita* of the seventh-century Northumbrian bishop, Saint Wilfrid (r. 664-678), recorded many similar occasions where the prelate lent kings his miraculous and moral support. When war broke out between King Ecgfrith of Northumbria (r. 670-685) and the Picts, the king urged the bishop to use his prayers 'to bring his power of divine intercession to bear on these matters'.[200] The king crushed his enemies, campaigning with only a small army but one 'fortified by Wilfrid's blessing'.[201] Such victories, against a foe characterised as arrogant and inspired by the Devil, were a credit to the king and his virtuous companion. When war broke out once more, this time between Ecgfrith and the Mercians, Eadmer again claimed of the king's subsequent triumph:

> 'Without doubt, this affair unfurled thus for King Ecgfrith so that it might be demonstrated that the prayers of blessed Wilfrid could in no way be frustrated in God's presence.'[202]

Brunanburh is largely unique, except for the fact that Oda accompanied the king to the battlefield where the account is similiar to that of the *Ramsey Chronicle*. After that the accounts diverge, the *Chronicle* placing the miracle, like William of Malmesbury, in the context of a surprise night-time attack on the English camp. The *Chronicle*'s account also appears, they suggest, to be a conflation of William of Malmesbury's various accounts. See Eadmer, *Lives*, xxxvi, xliii, xliv, cxiii. The story was included in the *Chronicle* in a passage describing Oda's kinship with Oswald. See *Chronicon abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray Roll Series (London, 1886), 15-16. The full passage reads: 'Quodam ergo dierum contra Analafum, quendam Barbarorum ducem strenuissimum, qui hostili invasione partem jam Angliae turbaverat, exercitum ducens, virum sanctum in comitatu habuit, ipsius meritis eventum belli prosperum sibi fieri posse confisus. Igitur hostibus castra regis sub caeca nocte callide invadentibus, facta strictius partium congressione, dum se mutuis ictibus dilaniant, dum stridores lituorum fierent et fremitus armorum, forte regius ensis e vagina lapsus adversariis quidem incrementum audaciae, ipsi vero regi et suis plurimum formidinis, importavit. Quo cognito vir beatus oravit et vaginae regis vacuae alius divinitus missus est ensis, quo ad nutum viri Dei educto populatores palantes caesi sunt, et de eis inopinata celeritate triumphatum. In argumentum divinae bonitatis et regiae victoriae idem ensis in thesauris regum, ut fertur, usque hodie reservatur. Sancti Oswoldi, Eboracensis archipraesulis, gratia, de quo inferius plurima relatu digna referemus, huius sancti viri, quia eius patruus fuit, mentionem huic operi censuimus ingerendam, occasionem de praedicto regis triumpho aucupati'.

[200] Eadmer of Canterbury, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J. Turner (Exeter, 1998), 56-57.

[201] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 56-57.

[202] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 56-57.

Eadmer's portrayal of Wilfrid, like that of Oda of Canterbury, demonstrated how a bishop could secure God's intervention on the battlefield. The prayers, and the 'blessed merits', of an English bishop could fortify royal armies and achieve victories against otherwise insurmountable odds.

This ability to save a king from mortal peril was not limited to the battlefield. The various lives of St Dunstan, produced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, were proud to recall how the saint had protected King Edmund (r. 939-946) during a hunting accident at Cheddar Gorge. The incident transformed Dunstan from an outcast exiled from the court to a royal favourite, one subsequently appointed abbot of Glastonbury. When the king nearly plunged over a precipice, he regretted his earlier harsh treatment of the saint and commended himself to the 'blessed man's merits'.[203] Eadmer and William of Malmesbury both repeated the story with slight alterations, the latter, for example, strengthening the king's awareness of his sins against Dunstan.[204] The retelling of this tenth-century incident by twelfth-century authors provides a further example of how not only the king's military fortunes, but his very survival, depended on keeping the favour of clerics and their access to divine favour.

Thus far, we have seen how late eleventh and twelfth-century English writers portrayed the spiritual interventions, moral support, and inspiration that bishops could provide as part of their support to English kings. They could secure military success as well as miraculous delivery from mortal peril. These incidents formed part of an idealised past, often based on a limited selection of source material, in which the saints of pre-Conquest England had a profound influence on the realm's history. Yet similar actions were also recorded in reference to more recent events. Twelfth-century hagiographers claimed that their contemporaries also recognised the importance of divine support mediated by the bishops of their own day. While Eadmer was reluctant to discuss his master's direct involvement in the realm's defence, he did mention that Henry I enjoyed Anselm's favour during his conquest of Normandy. After a long period of conflict, the king and archbishop had been reconciled and Eadmer explained that

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[203] B., *Vita Dunstani,* in *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2011), 49-51.
[204] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, in *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J Turner (Oxford, 2006), 79-81; William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, in *Saints' Lives. Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 201-203.

> ‘those who came to us from there [Normandy] reported that he was heartily glad that he had made his peace with Anselm. He even fortified himself with the firm hope that he would thereby subdue the whole of Normandy to his rule’.

After Henry’s subsequent victory at the battle of Tinchebray (1106), the king immediately sent letters to Anselm, telling him with joy of the victory, with Eadmer claiming that everyone who heard of the event ascribed it to the king’s rapprochement with Anselm.[205] While, in Eadmer’s rendering at least, the archbishop had given no explicit moral or spiritual backing to Henry’s campaign, contemporary opinion nonetheless ascribed the victory to their mutual understanding. Like his Anglo-Saxon predecessors, Henry had thus gone to war in the expectation that his relationship with his archbishop would prove pivotal to the outcome. When John of Salisbury revised Eadmer’s biography of Anselm in the mid-twelfth century, he provided a near-identical account: the king,

> ‘could not keep secret his confidence that the Lord was favourably disposed to him over the fact that he had accepted Anselm as his friend in true and steadfast friendship’.

In John of Salisbury’s rendition, the king not only hopes but ‘promises himself’ Normandy. He even sent a letter to Anselm in which ‘he ascribed it [the victory] to the merits of the concord and peace’.[206]

By the late twelfth century, the premise that bishops could save kings from certain death and grant them victory had not diminished. Adam of Eynsham ascribed both miraculous rescues and military victories to Hugh of Lincoln (r. 1186-1200) in his *Magna Vita* of the bishop, completed by 1212. Adam complained eloquently of the dangers that Henry II faced from the elements when a royal fleet was nearly wrecked by a violent storm in the Channel.[207] The king’s companions confessed their sins, prepared themselves for death, and prayed to God and his saints. As they did so, Henry himself lamented,

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[205] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 138-139.
[206] John of Salisbury, *Anselm & Becket: Two Canterbury Saints' Lives by John of Salisbury*, trans. Ronald E. Pepin (Toronto, 2009), 61; John of Salisbury, *Vita St Anselmi*, ed. Migne PL 199, col. 1034 ‘Rex interim in Normannia degens congratulatur paci, et iam dissimulare non potest, confidens sibi Dominum ex hoc esse placatum, quod in veram et firmam amicitiam amicum eius receperit Anselmum. Unde sibi in brevi totam Normanniam et repromissit, et quidam non frustra. . . Quam victoriam nactus, per epistolam communicavit Anselmo, quae meritis concordiae et pacis inter eos reformatae ascribebatur.
[207] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis. The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, ed. and trans. Decima L. Douie and David Hugh Farmer, 2 vols. (Oxford 1961–1985), 1: 73.

> 'if only my Carthusian Hugh was now watching, and praying alone in his cell, or along with his brethren he were celebrating the divine offices with due solemnity, God would not forget me so long. God, whom the prior of Witham serves so devoutly, through his intercession and merits have mercy on us, who are justly for our sins brought to such straits'.

Adam even claimed that it was during this storm that Henry vowed to make Hugh a bishop if he survived. When the storm then died down 'the king's reverence for the man of God was complete'.[208] As with Anselm, Hugh's own role was not foregrounded. The king was not even sure whether the holy man was praying on his behalf, instead asking God for salvation directly, on account of Hugh's merits. Despite Hugh's turbulent relationship with Henry's son Richard, Adam thought that he too attributed military victories to episcopal virtue. When Richard achieved a crushing victory over Philip II of France (r. 1180-1223) at Gisors (1198), Adam noted that Richard immediately sent an account of the triumph to Hugh, begging him to continue praying on his behalf. Richard included the names of distinguished nobles he had captured, noting that the French king himself had nearly drowned. Adam explained that Richard's own men had declared the victory was granted by God 'through the merits of the holy bishop, since, forgetting his first rage, he [Richard] had decided to treat him with great deference as his lord'.[209] As with Anselm and Henry I, the resumption of good relations between king and bishop is heralded by divine favour in the form of military success. Like Eadmer, Adam of Eynsham did not attribute the victory to the bishop himself, but emphasised that this was a judgement reached by others. Eadmer's contemporaries, and Richard's soldiers, were portrayed as themselves making the link between the bishop's favour and victory.

In England, we have seen examples, derived from both an Anglo-Saxon past and a more recent Anglo-Norman and Angevin present, of bishops providing spiritual support in battle, physical protection in a crisis, and fortification and inspiration to royal armies. Kings, in turn, attributed their military achievements to the friendship of monks and prelates. Such themes are almost completely absent from the equivalent German sources. There are only two exceptions, both of which are only indirectly related to kings. The *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium* described the deeds of the bishops of Metz from the bishopric's foundation in the fourth century until the writer's day during the pontificate of Stephen (r. 1120-1162), with the

[208] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 2: 73-74.
[209] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 2: 109.

text probably written between 1132 and 1142. In an entry for the late tenth century, the *Gesta* described how Otto II suffered a heavy military defeat in Calabria at the hands of the Saracens.[210] The *Gesta* claimed that this had been revealed to a priest, called Ulrich, who had received a vision in which God had prepared a scale to judge whether to award victory to the Christians or the pagans. The sins of the former had grown to such an extent that they were condemned to be subdued by the Saracens. Ulrich then explained the vision to the army who prayed for their salvation. After a group of common people decided to fight the Saracens, and were killed, Ulrich experienced a second vision in which he saw Mary and other saints intercede with God to ask for mercy. When the scales were weighed again, St Lawrence appeared and asked for victory. On seeing this, the priest quickly sent a message to the emperor who commanded the army to engage. After battle was joined with the invocation of Christ and St Lawrence, the enemy retreated, the *Gesta* concluding that it was from that time that the feast of the saint had grown famous. St Lawrence's intercession was thus crucial in persuading God to favour the royal army, but the portrayal of the king here was rather different from the English examples. Miraculous intervention takes place in the context of royal failure, with Otto II unable to defeat the enemy or protect the common people who suffer a 'lamentable slaughter'.[211] Ulrich was the protagonist, receiving the vision and then ensuring that the emperor is 'commanded' to engage in battle; the latter received no glory or praise for the victory.[212]

Notably, the other exception also involved St Lawrence and Otto II. The *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, drawing on Bruno of Querfurt's second *Life of St Adalbert*, bishop of Prague (r. 983-997), described how a brother Gebehard saw a vision in which Otto II was admonished by St Lawrence.[213] When those in the emperor's presence asked who dared to dishonour the king, and on what authority, the saint responded that unless the emperor corrected his shame, he would soon find himself deposed. After the emperor gave little weight to the vision, preferring the blandishments of his archbishop to any fear of God, he shortly afterwards suffered defeat at the hands of the Saracens, fleeing to Rome where he died.[214] Otto's military defeat was thus connected to his failure to respond to St.

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[210] *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, MGH SS:10, 542.
[211] *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, MGH SS:10, 542 'lacrimabili caede'.
[212] *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, MGH SS:10, 542 'Sacerdos itaque festinus mittit nuncium imperatori, hostique ut congrediatur imperat'.
[213] *Gesta Archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, MGH SS:14, 389 'Nam, ut refert sanctus episcopus et martir Bruno...'.
[214] *Gesta Archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, MGH SS:14, 389.

Lawrence's admonitions, his disregard for ascetic monks, and his preference for the flattery of his archbishop. In the twelfth-century author's sources for this account, however, the saint's disfavour only caused a general decline in the emperor's authority; the specific link to the military disaster was an innovation of the twelfth-century *Gesta*.[215]

Thus, the two German examples of a king's interaction with a saint or bishop in the context of military conflict, do not resemble at all the patterns we have observed in the English *vitae*. Both relate to a single episode, Otto II's defeat in southern Italy, and to the disapproval of St Lawrence. In the first example, the saint intervened, almost despite the king's military failings, to protect the people and royal army where the king had not.[216] The king was mentioned only briefly as the commander of a force rejuvenated by the visions of a priest. In our second example, the emperor faced moral and physical ruin because he had failed to heed a saint's admonition, with defeat in battle but one manifestation of an unfolding disaster.

Our final example could not provide a starker contrast of how, in Anglo-Norman England, royal military success was regarded as underpinned by episcopal support. The *Vita Sancti Dubrici*, written at some point in the mid-twelfth century by Benedict, a monk at St Peter's Abbey in Gloucester, combines an earlier life of St Dyfrig with Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*.[217] Although Benedict used the *Historia* as the basis for his depiction, Geoffrey's work did not provide a precedent for Benedict's overarching theme, namely that Dyfrig's support was the foundation of King Arthur's success. Benedict altered Geoffrey's account to make clear that Arthur only set out for Lincoln to engage the Saxons, achieving a spectacular victory, 'after Dyfrig's judgement had been imparted'.[218] Several days later, Arthur exhorted his men at the siege of Bath to attack the Saxons with Christ's aid.[219] While Arthur delivered his speech, Dyfrig climbed to the top of a mountain and addressed the army, exhorting them to fight for their country, as 'this itself is victory and

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[215] Compare Brun of Querfurt, *Vitae s. Adalberti episcopi Pragensis recensio II*, MGH SS 4, 600-601.
[216] Webb, 'Representations of the Warrior Bishop', 114 highlighted an interesting parallel in this regard. Anselm of Liège included a dramatic account of how Bishop Franco of Liège (d. 901) had resisted the Vikings, defending wiows and orphans, before liberating the *patria* with divine assistance. Anselm erased the role of the local count, recorded in an earlier source, and added that the raids were God's vengeance for royal sin, presumably linking the invasion to the Lothar II's divorce. As with our example above, the warrior bishop emerged 'not only from the failure of royal power, but to protect people from disasters brought about by the king's own shortcomings'.
[217] Joshua B. Smith, 'Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii: An Edition And Translation', *Arthurian Literature* 29 (2012), 53-100, at 60. Hereafter *Vita Sancti Dubricii*.
[218] *Vita Sancti Dubricii*, 82-83.
[219] *Vita Sancti Dubricii*, 84-85.

a medicine for the soul': death in battle would act as a 'a penance and absolution for all his sins'.[220] At this offer and 'at the prayer of the cheerful, saintly man', the soldiers rushed to battle.[221] In the ensuing clash, Benedict emphasised that the king struck down many thousands while supported by Dyfrig's prayers.[222] In every subsequent battle, Benedict identified Dyfrig as the cause of Arthur's many victories.[223] Conversely, once Dyfrig left the king's court, Arthur 'never rested from the disturbance of battles as long as he lived, until he himself lay dead in war'.[224] The timing was precise: the very day Dyfrid left court, ambassadors from Rome arrived, precipitating war.[225] As Benedict explained, he included these matters,

> 'concerning Arthur so that everybody may know how many blessings he enjoyed as long as he was propped up by the prayers of holy Dyfrig, how many swords and misfortunes he was exposed to without him, and how he was forever ruined after Dyfrig left him, as long as he lived'.[226]

Episcopal support may have been essential to military success, but its absence, as we shall see in further detail in the following chapter, was regarded as equally decisive.

Benedict's *vita* utilised, albeit in a highly exaggerated form, a theme found across the *vitae* produced by late eleventh and twelfth-century English writers, one absent in their German counterparts. Benedict's text was written amid growing competition to claim the figure of St. Dyfrig. The bishops of Glamorgan had sought to transform Dyfrig, previously an obscure figure, into a famous miracle-working archbishop of southern Wales, whose reputation would demand respect and provide the foundation for more recent claims. The *vita,* as Joshua Smith has highlighted, may have been written during the episcopate of Nicholas ap Gwrgan (d. 1183), a bishop of Llandaf who had been a monk at St Peter's Abbey with which he retained close links.[227] Benedict clearly felt that he gained from associating Dyfrig with a king newly popularised by Geoffrey's work. Indeed, he not only linked the two figures, but made Arthur, the ideal architype of chivalric and successful kingship, utterly dependent on his archbishop. That he felt able to do so was perhaps due to the fact that his

[220] *Vita Sancti Dubricii*, 84-85.
[221] *Vita Sancti Dubricii*, 84-85.
[222] *Vita Sancti Dubricii*, 84-87.
[223] *Vita Sancti Dubricii*, 86-87.
[224] *Vita Sancti Dubricii*, 92-93.
[225] *Vita Sancti Dubricii*, 92-93.
[226] *Vita Sancti Dubricii*, 94-95.
[227] *Vita Sancti Dubricii*, 58-62.

portrayal fitted into a far more extensive and widespread theme in English hagiography, which emphasised the military and spiritual potency of bishops when acting on behalf of the English monarchy.

Conclusion

The military assistance rendered by bishops to English and German kings has hitherto provided material for debates with rather well-honed trajectories, whether concerning the *Reichskirchensystem*, the development of princely bishoprics in Germany, or the growing demands of the Crown and the impact of the Norman Conquest in England. Unsurprisingly, our episcopal biographers focused on rather different aspects of royal service. Comparing how they portrayed these activities has, in fact, revealed several, occasionally rather surprising, patterns. We shall discuss the factors which may have underpinned these differences in the overall conclusion to this study. It is worth summarising here, however, the themes which have emerged so far, as they point to more fundamental contrasts between the two realms that will reoccur in the following chapters.

The German *vitae* often sought to make clear that royal campaigns were just. Reflecting a tradition of political thought that went back to St Augustine (and indeed to Cicero), they characterise imperial campaigns as largely defensive, called against pagans or frenzied disturbers of the peace. The counsel, wisdom, and virtues of the German episcopate aided the king, not simply in achieving a royal victory, but in protecting the vulnerable, securing a just peace, and minimising loss of life. Authors took pride in how the participation of bishops reflected their pre-eminence within the Empire, but when they turned to the role of episcopal counsel, they portrayed bishops as teaching and admonishing kings to spare their opponents. As we shall see in accounts of the Investiture Contest, biographers particularly prized the German episcopate for this ability to intercede with the king during times of conflict. The English *vitae* contained far fewer examples of episcopal counsel and expertise during times of war, but important parallels and differences are clear: Becket may only have been a chancellor during the restoration of royal authority in England after the Anarchy, but FitzStephen, like the German biographers, praised the chancellor's commitment to a prosperous and protective peace. It is even more striking that, in our sole example of an English bishop admonishing the king during a military campaign, the aim was to rouse the king to battle, rather than to restrain him. In fact, the incident points to a wider theme in the

English sources, that of bishops and clerics urging on, or even executing, more aggressive military tactics than their lay peers.

When we turn to the military retinues brought by bishops to the battlefield, German biographers took pride in such displays, but also made clear the restraint and discipline their bishops imposed on the army as a whole. Albero's claims to superiority were unusual, even among the German *vitae,* but find a rare parallel in Gerald of Wales' portrayal of Geoffrey Plantagenet. Even Albero, however, was portrayed as far more concerned with preventing conflict than were his English episcopal peers. The German *vitae* also tend to provide a more negative commentary on the burden imposed by royal service. Its demands could be unremitting and severe, with the king deaf to even the most reasonable requests to be spared, while some biographers either deliberately minimised episcopal participation or highlighted a bishop's principled stand against military service. These examples contrast with a far more positive portrayal of royal service in England. While some English authors suppressed examples of episcopal military support to kings, if they mentioned it at all, they did so without the complaints and doubts found in German sources. While German biographers sought to show their bishops pursuing a variety of higher goals when on a royal campaign, for English writers royal service was itself a virtuous endeavour. Given that the king's cause was just, there was presumably little reason to be concerned about the direct use of force. As FitzStephen and Gerald of Wales demonstrated, one's status as a cleric and warrior could easily go hand in hand. Even in the king's absence, the royal cause was evoked during accounts of the Battle of the Standard. The ultimate reward for a victorious army, in these accounts, was to be associated with royal victory and authority, with one's counsel heard at the royal court.

That English authors, when they did discuss military interventions, were more comfortable with the consequences of such actions becomes especially clear in our final section. A prelate's 'blessed merits' and prayers secured military success for the English kings they accompanied. Some *vitae* even claimed that their subjects were responsible, not only for royal victories, but for protecting the royal person. While there were significant differences between how such incidents were characterised in the Anglo-Saxon past and with regard to more recent events, in each case episcopal favour underpinned royal success, with little apparent reflection on the initial justice of the king's cause. Once again, we find comparatively little concern with restraint. On the battlefields of Brunanburh, Tinchebray,

and Gisors, English bishops had left in their wake a trail of destruction that outmatched anything achieved by Albero of Trier.

A comparative approach has thus allowed us to highlight some important contrasts. The wider validity of the 'militant Germanic bishop' trope aside, episcopal biographers in Germany actually paid greater attention to restraint, mediation, and peace, than their English contemporaries. One might also have assumed that providing spiritual and moral support was simply what bishops did across the Latin West, but, in the *vitae* at least, there were important variations in how that role was portrayed. As we turn to the following chapters, several themes that have arisen here are worth bearing in mind. First, the German *vitae* reveal a more negative view of royal service than their English counterparts. While the latter might disguise examples altogether, they did not characterise royal service as a burden or cite a moral opposition to it. Co-operation with the king on the battlefield was a matter to be praised and remembered, with the royal court, on one occasion, even regarded as a source of inspiration. Second, we have seen German bishops admonishing kings to subjugate their enemies by peaceful means. In fact, as chapter 4 demonstrates, admonition was, at least when compared to England, a far less significant theme in the German *vitae.* Indeed, while the admonitory role here was significant, German kings were taught and instructed to show restraint, but not criticised for any past failure. While the mediatory function of the German episcopate will re-emerge when we turn to the Investiture Contest, that direct criticism will prove more a feature of twelfth-century England. Finally, the English *vitae* portrayed English kings as dependent on episcopal favour. Indeed, a sense of royal dependency on the episcopate, not only for divine favour, physical protection, and military success, but also for the monarchy's moral character, provides an overarching theme in our next chapter.

Chapter 3: Kingship in the twelfth-century English episcopal *vitae*

Introduction

In the study of English kingship, the *vitae* have largely been used to fill in more general biographical sketches and as the basis for speculation regarding the personalities of individual kings. David Bates viewed William the Conqueror's encounters with Anselm as evidence of the king's capacity for preparation and religious devotion, venturing that they discussed peace, prayer, charity, and protection of the Church.[1] Eadmer's portrayal, Bates suggested, was marked by a 'kingly paternalism' outdated within Anselm's own lifetime. W. L. Warren singled out Adam of Eynsham, Hugh of Lincoln's biographer, as one of the few contemporaries to speak of Henry II with warmth. Warren concluded his biography of Henry II with an episode, from Adam's *Magna Vita*, in which the king was mocked by the bishop: for Warren this incident symbolised how Henry laughed when his dignity was mocked, but was infuriated when his authority was flouted. Hugh, in Warren's view, understood the king like no other.[2] More recently, Stephen Church used Adam's portrayal of John to demonstrate that the king was no monster at the beginning of his reign.[3] John Gillingham also found in Adam's 'revealing description' of Richard I at Château-Gaillard, surrounded by bishops appointed for administrative work, evidence for the king's central position within the Church and his desire that Hugh be the exception, not the rule, amongst his episcopate.[4] Emma Mason, drawing on William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani,* suggested that the bishop helped Harold 'get things into perspective', may have guided his succession, and that 'plain-spoken' Wulfstan would have disassociated himself if he had thought Harold's cause unjust.[5] When the latter became king, Wulfstan was the 'very person to calm the northerners', leading Harold to undertake a 'hearts-and-minds campaign' in Northumbria, with the 'cultural heritage of the northerners' conditioning them to respond well to Wulfstan's admonitions.[6]

While Mason's approach was criticised for attempting to psychoanalyse such episodes without appreciating their hagiographical character, there is a sense in the scholarship more generally that the twelfth-century *vitae* were more naturalistic, descriptive, even 'real', than

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[1] David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (New Haven, 2016), 521-22.
[2] W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1977), 212-14, 629-30.
[3] Stephen Church, *King John: England, Magna Carta and the Making of a Tyrant* (London, 2015), xx-xxi.
[4] John Gillingham, *Richard I* (London, 1999), 258-259.
[5] Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester c. 1008- 1095* (Oxford, 1990), 66-67, 100-102.
[6] Mason, *St Wulfstan*, 102-103, cf. 106.

their antecedents.[7] Henry Mayr-Harting suggested that the 'arresting personalities' of the twelfth century speak to us directly because, as David Knowles put it, a more introspective examination of emotion led authors to 'light up from the inside' their subjects by contrast with earlier, more stylised, portrayals.[8] Citing the biographies of Becket and Aelred of Rievaulx as examples, Knowles argued that personalities were examined with a sensitivity and sympathy unknown 'in any other century of the Middle Ages'. Knowles, like Warren, also used Adam of Eynsham's portrayal of Henry II to argue that the king's affability was not invented by the chroniclers, implying that Adam's testimony was more reliable than that of Howden and the historians.[9] It was Adam's 'trivial and illuminating' details, for Warren, that allowed readers to see the king 'in the round as a living, flesh and blood figure'.[10] In a similar vein, Frank Barlow suggested that 'the despised historical anecdote', even when fictional, may illuminate more by metaphor and illustration than other details recounted by chroniclers.[11] Richard Southern regarded Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* as not only an extraordinary work of 'intimate biography',[12] but as the start of a trend of 'psychological elaboration' that spread widely during the following century. The biographers of Becket and Hugh of Lincoln may not have equalled the intimacy achieved by Eadmer, but their texts were similarly marked by a need 'to infuse a passionate inner life'.[13]

As Timothy Reuter noted, however, while the twelfth century produced sources that may appear less rhetorical, they remain 'nothing like accurate reporting'.[14] The *vitae* have only been examined in passing and rarely in relation to similar anecdotes from authors across the period as a whole, let alone from elsewhere in Latin Christendom. Many of the encounters between bishops and kings have received no attention at all. Even more frequently referenced works, such as Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita*, have not had their portrayals of kingship examined in full. The disputes concerning Anselm and Becket, and the testimony of

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[7] W. Trent Foley, 'Review: St Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008-1095 by Emma Mason', *Church History* 61:3 (1992), 397-398; Kristine E. Haney, 'Review: St Wulfstan of Worcester c. 1008-1095 by Emma Mason', *The American Historical Review* 97:4 (1992), 1198.
[8] Henry Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society in the Medieval West, 600-1200* (Aldershot, 2010), xvi, cf. 213-214 on the perceptiveness of the chroniclers of Stephen's reign.
[9] David Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1971), 33-35.
[10] W. L. Warren, *King John* (London, 1978), 5. Warren does not make use of Adam's anecdotes relating to King John, however.
[11] *Writing Medieval Biography: 750 - 1250: Essays in honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. David Bates, Julia Crick, and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), ix.
[12] Richard Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1964), 218-219, 314-346.
[13] Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, 335.
[14] Timothy Reuter, 'Velle sibi fieri in forma hac. Symbolic Acts in the Becket Dispute', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 167-192, at 172.

Eadmer and the Becket biographers, has been explored in greater detail, most recently by Sally Vaughn and Michael Staunton, but even here the analysis of kingship was a secondary concern. The notable exception to this lack of scholarly attention is a study by Björn Weiler, who argued that *vitae* reveal a peculiarly English tradition of forcefully reprimanding kings. This tradition built on tenth-century examples, interest in which was reawakened by the exploitation of the Anglo-Norman monarchs and an emphasis on moral improvement amid wider Church reform.[15] The figure of the admonishing bishop is thus difficult to separate from the twelfth-century rediscovery of the pre-conquest past.[16] While Weiler admitted that the evidence is inconclusive, he suggested that counsel was ideally given confidentially or before only a limited audience: one should only challenge the king in public as a last resort, once access to the king had been denied, for example by malevolent counsellors.[17] This admonition focused both on the personal conduct of kings and their infringements of church liberties and was given in an especially forceful manner. The English episcopate were thus marked out by providing 'stern and forceful counsel, lambasting and correcting the failings of those in power': this was what bishops in England were meant to do.[18]

Philippe Buc, Thomas Bisson, and others have argued that the late twelfth century experienced growing concern for the accountability of office-holders and the duty of subjects to reprimand kings.[19] Buc demonstrated that biblical interpretations shifted towards emphasising both the ambiguous and sinful nature of secular power and the distinction between ecclesiastical and royal authority. Because kingship was itself rooted in, and merited by, humanity's sins, kings required correction and restraint by the Church, a duty especially emphasised from the 1180s onwards. Concern with oversight of royal behaviour, as we have seen in chapter 1, long predated these developments. But, as Weiler's study highlighted, there were considerable variations across the Latin West. The stress on episcopal admonition of

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[15] Björn Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings in England, c. 1066 – c. 1215', in *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter: Deutschland und England im Vergleich*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2013), 157–204, at 160.
[16] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 167-8, 193 n. 150; See the essays collected in *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past*, ed. M. Brett and D. A. Woodman (Aldershot, 2015).
[17] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 169.
[18] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 169, 171-2, 184-5.
[19] Philippe Buc, 'Principes Gentium Dominantur Eorum: Princely Power between Legitimacy and Illegitimacy in Twelfth-Century Exegesis', in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), 310-328, at 325; Philippe Buc, *L'ambiguité du livre. Prince, Pouvoir et Peuple dans les Commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2006), esp. 246–59; Björn Weiler, 'Tales of First Kings and the Culture of Kingship in the West, c. 1050–1200', *Viator* 46:2 (2015), 101-128, at 124–128; Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton, 2009); Björn Weiler, 'Clerical Admonitio, Letters of Advice to Kings, and Episcopal Self-fashioning, c. 1000-1200', *History* 102:352 (2017), 557-575, at 575.

kings in terms of their personal behaviour and attacks on ecclesiastical liberties was not replicated in Germany, as we shall see in chapter 4.

While the topic of kingship was often far from a hagiographer's main focus, the *vitae* are all the more valuable for that: they provide incidental details as to how they expected royal-episcopal encounters to have occurred, not least when they 'filled in the blanks' and elaborated on their previous sources. For this reason, this chapter examines both the portrayal of near-contemporary encounters by twelfth-century writers (such as the biographies of Becket and Anselm) as well as those based on the more distant Anglo-Saxon past. Even when an author, such as William of Malmesbury in his discussion of Anselm, based his description on an earlier source, minor alterations can illustrate a change in the interpretation of royal and episcopal behaviour. While word-for-word copying was rare, this too reflected a sustained interest in the king, bishop, and episode in question, and perhaps agreement with the image conveyed.

Aside from Weiler's study, there has been no comparative, thematic, or in-depth, analysis of what the portrayal of royal behaviour within the *vitae* as a whole might reveal about English kingship, the relationship between a ruler and his episcopate, or the realm's political culture. While drawing upon a far wider range of *vitae* than any previous analysis, examining every single depiction of royal behaviour would still exceed the space available. The chapter therefore draws out the patterns that emerge from the royal-episcopal encounters of the *vitae* as a whole. As a consequence, any one episode may be discussed on more than one occasion, in relation to different themes. The reconstruction, using these sources, of the disputes involving Becket and Anselm, is well-advanced. The ideas and assumptions underpinning the portrayal of royal power itself rather less so.

The first section of this chapter examines episcopal admonition of kings. While the correction of kings is certainly the most prominent theme to emerge from the English *vitae*, the forceful nature of that admonition pointed out by Weiler must be placed alongside an equally important emphasis on restraint and courtesy. The contrast between England and Germany in this regard remains striking, but more attention will be paid here to the means by which the English episcopate counselled and corrected kings and the complexity and detail with which biographers recorded that oversight. In addition, by placing such encounters in the context of the foundational sources and developments sketched in chapter 1, we can observe that the caution adopted by English bishops towards criticising their kings was part

of a venerable tradition as important as the forceful exemplars provided by the Old Testament. Forceful criticism of kings remains a remarkable feature of the twelfth-century English *vitae*, but even there it was not necessarily the norm.

At the same time, we should also recognise why this correction was considered to be important in the first place. By examining the enemies of the admonishing bishop – courtiers, sinful women, the Devil, and false brothers within the episcopate – we can see how the portrayal of these opponents, in turn, highlighted the indispensability of episcopal counsel and the disastrous impact its absence would have on the king's person and the realm as a whole. Their characterisation also points to a theme which runs through this chapter and the *vitae* as a whole: the importance of the royal court as a moral battleground.

While episcopal correction was perhaps the most important element of the portrayal of kingship within the *vitae*, it was far from the only one. The second section of this chapter examines the broader topic of how familiarity and friendship with the king was portrayed by the *vitae*, and the benefits that such familiarity brought both to a religious community and the kingdom. The influence claimed for bishops both over king and in governing the realm, is striking. Its prominence reflects the emphasis on the episcopate's importance in Anglo-Saxon England and the stress placed upon their military significance discussed in chapter 2. The sense of royal dependency on bishops and the necessity of respecting both them and the saints, provides a further theme in the *vitae*, one reflected in the concessions bishops extracted from kings at moments of crisis. Resistance to royal demands was also regarded as a hallmark of ideal episcopal conduct, but, as with criticism, there was more room for dialogue here, not least with royal servants, than has previously been appreciated.

Finally, the *vitae* have not been examined in the context of political culture more generally, especially considerations of the 'rules of the game' or wider assumptions regarding how one should approach the king. The last section of this chapter therefore examines the role of honour, shame, threats, insult, and audience in the *vitae*, and how bishops, through their stance towards kings, both participated in and subverted the norms of political conduct. Timothy Reuter drew attention to the importance of royal assemblies as manifestations of the political community.[20] Ideally, these events occurred once disputes had been settled in advance. Open defiance and conflict were rare. As Stuart Airlie noted, these were 'not venues

[20] Timothy Reuter, 'Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 193-216, at 193-194, 202, 207-209.

for frank speech and fierce argument'.[21] The public criticism and resistance of bishops, recorded in the *vitae*, were all the more remarkable in this context. Indeed, as Leidulf Melve pointed out, such assemblies were more unpredictable than has been implied, with a particular increase in dialogue and argument detectable from the late eleventh century.[22] This was partly the reason why the trials of Anselm and Becket claimed the intense scrutiny of their biographers.[23] To oppose or contradict in public insulted another's honour. As Reuter demonstrated, a 'meta-language' of ritual and symbolic actions pervaded the Becket dispute.[24] The conventions of political communication – demonstrative gestures, staged emotions, the use of intermediaries, the protocol of messages and messengers – were crucial to what became a 'dispute about a dispute'.[25] The use of threats and violence has also been highlighted by Hugh Thomas. Such tactics were part of a 'broader cultural framework in which shame, honour, and masculinity also played an important role'. Churchmen too were as keen as the nobility to defend their honour, and to maintain a strong masculine image.[26] Unable, for the most part, to resort to violence, Becket and his contemporaries emphasised episcopal bravery, toughness, and persistency when defending their own honour.

In addition, Gerd Althoff has drawn attention to the public audience for demonstrations of royal favour and anger.[27] Favour manifested itself in gifts, in confidential conversations, in drawing attention to a courtier, and in the latter's physical placement in relation to the king. Enjoying a ruler's confidence was a supreme honour, but aroused

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[21] Stuart Airlie, 'Talking Heads: Assemblies in Early Medieval Germany', in *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (Turnhout 2004), 29-46, at 37. See also Leidulf Melve, 'Assembly Politics and the "Rules of the Game" (ca. 650-1150)', *Viator* 41:2 (2010), 69-90, at 78-79; Leidulf Melve, '"Even the Very Laymen are Chatting About It": The Politicalization of Public Opinion, 800-1200', *Viator* 44:1 (2013), 25-48; Levi Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871-978* (Cambridge, 2013), 1-20 commented on the lack of attention paid by historians working on Anglo-Saxon England to assemblies, compared to the continent, remarks which would also apply here.

[22] Melve, 'Assembly Politics', 69-90.

[23] Reuter, 'Symbolic Acts', 185-6; Reuter, 'Assembly Politics', 202 where Reuter pointed out that Anselm and Becket effectively faced lynch mobs.

[24] Reuter, 'Symbolic Acts', 168-70, 186; Reuter, 'Assembly Politics', 203.

[25] Reuter, 'Symbolic Acts', 178-182.

[26] Hugh Thomas, 'Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket', *Speculum* 87:4 (2012), 1051-1088, quotation at 1051. On this theme see, in addition to Reuter above, Martin Aurell, 'Le Meurtre de Thomas Becket: Les Gestes d'un Martyr', in *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter=Murder of Bishops*, ed. Natalie Fryde and Dirk Reitz (Göttingen, 2003), 187–210; Nicholas Vincent, 'The Murderers of Thomas Becket', in *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter=Murder of Bishops*, ed. Natalie Fryde and Dirk Reitz (Göttingen, 2003), 211–272; J.E.A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship* (London, 1955), 96-109; Paul Hyams, 'What Did Henry III of England Think in Bed and in French about Kingship', in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, 1998), 92-124; Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London, 2004), 257.

[27] Gerd Althoff, '(Royal) Favour: A Central Concept in Early Medieval Hierarchal Relations', in *Ordering Medieval Society* ed. Bernhard Jussen (Philadelphia, P,A., 2001), 243-269, at 245.

jealousy.[28] Loss of favour brought near exclusion from political society, making attendance at court almost impossible. Intermediaries had an especially important role to play here in achieving reconciliations, with direct criticism avoided in favour of a more confidential approach: kings, like God, required intercessors to put them in a gracious mood and to elicit a favourable response.[29] Asserting a request in public, particularly an unsolicited one, was thus highly unusual.[30] A quick and ingenious wit was also advantageous in a context in which frank debate was dangerous.

Royal anger has similarly been described as a signalling device.[31] While for clerics that anger might highlight a king's sinful or irrational character, it also publicised the removal of royal favour and protection.[32] Paul Hyams described Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita* as a 'virtual casebook of spectacular political anger and spiritual counters'.[33] To be convincing, formal displays required the potential for threats to be realised, as Thomas has traced in the Becket dispute.[34] Many have concluded that Angevin tempers were especially short and that their anger was an essential component of their kingship.[35] As we shall see, however, kings were rarely portrayed as angry without cause. Royal indignation was instead seen as a natural reaction to an injury to the royal honour.[36] Whether 'emotional engineering' or a genuine response, it is significant that both Peter of Blois and Adam of Eynsham attributed the anger of Henry II and Richard to the same cause: anger was a legitimate (for Henry, even a divinely sanctioned) answer to treachery.[37]

These remarks have a relevance to the *vitae* as a whole and not only to the Becket dispute to which they have thus far been applied.[38] Recognising the importance of honour, threat, offence, and audience, allows us to see why episcopal resistance and criticism were

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[28] Althoff, '(Royal) Favour', 250-251.
[29] Althoff, '(Royal) Favour', 246-247; see on the role of bishop as intercessors Sean Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends: Intercession and Aristocratic Politics in Carolingian and Ottonian Europe* (Leiden, 2014); Sean Gilsdorf, 'Bishops in the Middle: Mediatory Politics and the Episcopacy', in *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium*, ed. Sean Gilsdorf (Münster, 2004), 51-73.
[30] Althoff, '(Royal) Favour', 252.
[31] Angers Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages, ed. Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca, NY, 1998).
[32] Vincent, 'Court of Henry II', 311-12 pointed out that theatrical displays of anger were related through a biblical lens precisely to highlight an irrationality that required clerical correction.
[33] Hyams, 'What did Henry III of England Think', 101-102.
[34] Thomas, 'Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket', 1051-1088.
[35] Hyams, 'What did Henry III of England Think', 102-103; Joliffee, *Angevin Kingship*, 87-109; Stephen White, 'The Politics of Anger', in *Angers Past*, ed. Rosenwein, 127-152, at 130.
[36] White, 'Politics of Anger', 138-141.
[37] White, 'Politics of Anger', 145, 151, 160-161.
[38] See Levi Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871-978* (Cambridge, 2013), 161-194 for an examination of such conventions in earlier Anglo-Saxon *vitae.*

considered so remarkable. The *vitae* allow us to see not only how the 'rules of the game' operated, but also how they could be subverted, and their representation modified, to stress particular aspects of royal and episcopal conduct. While Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita*, and the detailed reporting on Anselm and Becket, provide the clearest illustration in this regard, we shall see that this is an approach applicable to the *vitae* as a whole including those which explored the distant past. In all this, as we shall see in chapter 4, the attention to royal honour, the conventions of political behaviour, and to the royal court itself, offers a vivid contrast with the German *vitae* where, to put it bluntly, comparable evidence is entirely lacking.

1. Criticism and admonition

The most prominent theme to emerge from the portrayal of English kingship in the *vitae* is that of episcopal oversight of royal power. Such criticisms have not gone unnoticed, but have usually been analysed in isolation from one another, either in connection with a single king or bishop, or subsumed into wider discussions concerning Anselm and Becket. H. E. J. Cowdrey pointed out, for example, that Lanfranc was well-aware that kings should be admonished. Before he became archbishop, he had highlighted the importance of reproving rulers when composing a commentary on St Paul's letters.[39] Cowdrey further suggested that the 'sources testify to King William's unique receptivity to Lanfranc's admonitions in spiritual matters'.[40] Sally Vaughn has also argued that Anselm proposed a partnership between primate and king, with himself acting as Rufus's vassal and spiritual father as long as the king heeded his advice.[41] This theory was inspired by moral reform at Bec and by Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Lanfranc and Anselm guided William, just as Aidan, Theodore, and Dunstan had tutored Oswald and Edgar.[42] Anselm's early criticism of Rufus, Vaughn suggested, illustrated how the abbot had begun to take on his archiepiscopal role by demanding to be the king's first counsellor, and partner in moral reform, in what Vaughn argued represented a clear theoretical conception of his own office.[43] Vaughn suggested too

[39] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 53, 58.
[40] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 186.
[41] Sally Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm 1093-1109: Bec, Missionary, Canterbury Primate, Patriarch of Another World* (Farnham, 2012), 49-52.
[42] Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm*, 30, 32-36, 38-39, 65-70; Sally Vaughn, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*: A Reintepretation', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10 (1988), 259-289, at 263-268.
[43] Vaughn, 'Eadmer's Historia Novorum', 268-285; Sally Vaughn, 'St Anselm and the English Investiture Controversy Reconsidered', *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980), 61-86, at 62-63, 66, 69, 70.

that the tactics used by Anselm to manage Rufus, labelled 'holy guile' by Eadmer, had their origins in a specific method of teaching used at Bec, whereby students were given moral instruction alongside soothing promises that were later withdrawn.[44]

Hugh of Lincoln's criticisms of the Angevin kings have also attracted attention. Karl Leyser, whose account remains the standard interpretation, suggested that the recourse of Henry II and his sons to Hugh represented an attempt to acquire by association a lost quality of holiness.[45] While Leyser recognised that Hugh's opposition could be occasional, he stressed Hugh's defiance and the frankness with which he criticised kings.[46] Cowdrey placed Hugh's admonitions in the context of a longer-term association between the English kings and eremitical forms of religious life, arguing that kings had long sought out admonishing holy men.[47] Hugh's criticisms have often been contrasted with those of Becket. Leyser pointed out that Henry II lost no dignity when receiving Hugh's advice, a great contrast with his bruising encounters with the martyred archbishop.[48] Cowdrey similarly emphasised Hugh's perceptiveness, maturity, and confidence. Unlike Becket, he argued, Hugh hammered kings without sacrificing his personal relationship with them.[49] Both Leyser and Henry Mayr-Harting suggested that Hugh, as a foreigner, had a 'vital quality of stranger-hood' in the manner of Peter Brown's holy man.[50] Hugh's aristocratic bearing, courtesy, and humour, contrasted with Becket - 'never known even to have essayed a joke' – who was compared by Mayr-Harting to

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[44] Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm*, 44, 80-83; Vaughn, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*', 283. Vaughn suggested that this tactic was, in turn, practiced by the king and his advisors.
[45] Cited using the pagination in Karl Leyser, 'The Angevin Kings and the Holy man', in *Communication and Power in the Middle Ages vol II: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond* ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1994), 157-175, at 158-161, 175. Originally printed in *St Hugh of Lincoln: Lectures Delivered at Oxford and Lincoln to Celebrate the Eighth Centenary of St. Hugh's Consecration as Bishop of Lincoln* ed. Henry Mayr-Harting (Oxford, 1987), 48-73. See also Peter Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), 80-101. See Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse', *History* 60 (1975), 337-352 for an earlier application of Peter Brown's model. For a reassessment of Leyser's argument see Ryan Kemp, 'Hugh of Lincoln and Adam of Eynsham: Angevin Kingship Reconsidered', *Haskins Society Journal* 31 (forthcoming, 2019).
[46] Leyser, 'Angevin Kings', 159, 175.
[47] H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Carthusian Impact upon Angevin England', in his *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, Eleventh to Twelfth Centuries* (Aldershot, 1999), 35-48.
[48] Leyser, 'Angevin Kings', 160-61.
[49] Cowdrey, 'Carthusian Impact' 39-40; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Hugh of Avalon, Carthusian and Bishop', in his *The Crusades and Latin monasticism, Eleventh to Twelfth Centuries* (Aldershot, 1999), 41-57 at especially 53-57.
[50] Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society*, 196; Leyser, 'Angevin Kings', 158-159.

> 'a knotted-up careerist... probably incapable of the relaxation of personality needed to make an effective joke about anything. It was the relaxation born partly of his detached way of life that enabled Hugh to speak with boldness and wit'.

Becket thus 'lacked the social *savoir-faire* or relaxation' to respond effectively to the king, his psychology likened by Mayr-Harting to that of a student-union careerist.[51]

The relative success or failure of bishops when criticising kings has also helped shape their assessment by modern historians. In this sense, the incidents of episcopal admonition, recorded in the *vitae*, have lain behind these more recent evaluations of the nature of royal-episcopal partnerships, and of the bishop's effectiveness as a political operator. Richard Southern saw Lanfranc as a practical 'man of the world', who knew the importance of ambiguity and collaboration, unlike Anselm who only operated as 'a man of God'.[52] Cowdrey cited Frank Barlow's view that Lanfranc was the 'perfect second-in-command' and subordinate who understood the importance of royal-episcopal co-operation.[53] A supposedly harmonious partnership, between Lanfranc and the Conqueror, was partly the consequence of Lanfranc's skill in relationships and his ability to compromise and to differ in silence.[54] By contrast, Becket's personality, and crucially the manner in which he criticised the king, has faced considerable censure. J. C. Russell described Becket as a 'vain, overbearing... not a likeable type of feudal prelate' and Beryl Smalley called him a 'wild, spiky archbishop'.[55] The most virulent critique, however, was that of W. L. Warren, keen to portray the Becket conflict as an anomaly in Henry II's career, representative only for the latter's concern for royal rights and aversion towards ideological posturing.[56] While Henry had grown into a subtle political operator, Becket became hysterical, isolated, 'increasingly detached from

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[51] Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society*, 83, 198. In a similiar vein, Hugh is described as a bishop who 'knew also how to maintain his position without giving offence: he showed that a keen natural sense of humour could be of greater service to the Church's cause than St Thomas Becket's keen sense of natural drama': Magna Vita, I, xvii.

[52] Richard Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer* (Cambridge, 2009), 14, 70-72, 228, 231.

[53] H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Enigma of Archbishop Lanfranc', *Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1994), 129-152, at 129; Frank Barlow, 'A View of Archbishop Lanfranc', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 16 (1965), 163-177.

[54] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 4, 75, 184-88, 229, 231.

[55] J. C. Russell, *The Canonization of Opposition to the King in Angevin England* (Cambridge M.A., 1929), 280; Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* (Oxford, 1973), 109. Both are cited in Jennifer O'Reilly, 'The Double Martyrdom of Thomas Becket: Hagiography or History', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 17 (1985), 183-247, at 185.

[56] On the common tendency to, as Warren did, treat the Becket dispute as a discrete phase of Henry II's reign, without regard to its later implications, see Nicholas Vincent, 'The Strange Case of the Missing Biographies: The Lives of the Plantagenet Kings of England 1154-1272', in *Writing Medieval Biography, 750-1250*, ed. David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), 237-258, at 252.

reality', bringing martyrdom upon himself. Becket 'was too rigid, too narrow, too *simpliste* in his methods, and probably too uptight a man, to be a boon companion to the complete statesman and exponent of *realpolitik* that Henry became'.[57] Lacking the 'mature flexibility' of his predecessor Theobald (r. 1139-1161), Becket engaged in 'gratuitously offensive' behaviour and 'dangerous posturing'.[58] His pontificate, above all else, was a failure in the art of persuasion. Warren allowed that angry Angevins were rarely receptive to criticism, but argued Becket had destroyed the king's trust by his attempts to ingratiate himself with the clergy.[59] As a 'theological dinosaur', Becket found 'melodramatic gestures' irresistible.[60] It was, therefore, 'the manner of Becket's opposition rather than its ideological content which caused the implacable hostility of the king'.[61] Mayr-Harting, in a similar vein, suggested that Becket was 'tactless and haranguing', never thinking how to save the king's face.[62]

Particularly notable is the common suggestion that Becket was desperately trying to emulate more established clerical norms. Barlow, like Knowles, thought that Becket possessed all the 'failings of a typical *parvenu*'. He was one of many 'social mountaineers' who was desperate to 'out-bishop any priest'.[63] In what follows, I suggest that the once popular view of Becket as an actor, fulfilling a set of roles, may find some justification with regard to the archbishop's desire to emulate the behaviour of his predecessors.[64] As Beryl Smalley argued, 'it is not play-acting to take ideas seriously'.[65] The duty of a prelate to correct the king as a spiritual son emerges from the *vitae* as a deeply engrained aspect of the behaviour expected of the English episcopate. While the Becket dispute itself was atypical, in the broader swathe of royal-episcopal relations in twelfth-century England, the norms evoked certainly were not.

Indeed, while admonition was not always described with the same level of detail afforded by Adam of Eynsham or Eadmer, the correction of kings by spiritual fathers was a theme throughout the *vitae.* Twelfth-century authors seized upon Dunstan as an exemplary cleric who had forcefully reproved the moral and sexual misconduct of Anglo-Saxon kings.

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[57] Warren, *Henry II*, 399-402.
[58] Warren, *Henry II*, 451, 453, 457, 459.
[59] Warren, *Henry II*, 475-476.
[60] Warren, *Henry II*, 487, 514-515.
[61] Warren, *Henry II*, 517.
[62] Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society*, 85-87.
[63] Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), 24, 89; David Knowles, *The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket* (Oxford, 1951), 141.
[64] Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society*, 87-88; David Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1971), 54; Barlow, *Becket*, *passim*.
[65] Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, 115.

Episcopal oversight of royal behaviour, as we shall see, was far from the preserve of the alumni of Bec nor was it a specifically Canterbury tradition. Looking at the portrayal of admonition in greater detail may allow us to overturn many of the individual characterisations of bishops described above. In addition, the *vitae* demonstrate that there were clearly different means by which the admonition of kings could be pursued and by which contemporaries debated their relative success. There certainly was a forceful tradition of episcopal oversight in England. But violent, physical, and direct rebukes were far from the norm. Courtesy, wit, and humour played an equally important role, underlining the deference accorded to kings even when criticised. While there are certainly examples of admonition, especially in the form of prophecies, which resemble the biblical tradition discussed in chapter 1, the influence of a classical and Gregorian tradition, of pursuing such correction with care and caution, continued to operate.

The career of St Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury (r. 959-997) inspired several eleventh and twelfth-century hagiographers, including the author known as B (writing after 988), Adelard of Ghent (writing 1006 x 1011), the author of a now lost Old English version, Osbern of Canterbury (writing 1089 x 1093), Eadmer of Canterbury (writing before 1116, possibly 1105 x 1109), and William of Malmesbury (writing c. 1129 x 1130).[66] Osbern's *Vita Dunstani* is of particular importance for adding stories which demonstrated how the saint rebuked and opposed kings. Osbern was the first biographer to deal substantially with the saint's relationship with King Edgar, making Dunstan an arbiter of royal successions and a leader of a monastic reform.[67] He was the first to describe the hamstringing of Eadwig's (r. 955-959) mistress, how Dunstan forced Edgar to do penance for raping a nun, the archbishop's prophecy against Æthelred II (r. 978-1013, 1014-1016), and the same king's siege of Rochester.[68] Osbern thus set the tone for Eadmer and William of Malmesbury: Dunstan, as an archbishop who dominated the royal court, was very much a post-conquest

[66] See Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, 281 n. 2; William of Malmesbury, *Saints Lives,* xviii-xxiv; Jay C. Rubenstein, 'The Life and Writings of Osbern of Canterbury', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*, ed. Richard G. Earles and Richard Sharpe (London, 1995), 27-40, at 38-39; Eadmer, *Saints Lives,* lxvii.

[67] Although they had spoken of Dunstan's suffering at the royal court, neither B nor Adelard had touched much on Dunstan's career as an archbishop during his later years. See William Stubbs, *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1874), lxiv-lxv; Jay C. Rubenstein, 'Osbern (d. 1094?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* http://www.oxforddnb.com/abstract/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-20865?rskey=lzHpHQ&result=4 accessed 23/08/2018.

[68] *Memorials of St Dunstan*, 90–91, 99-102, 111-112, 114-117; Levi Roach, *Æthelred the Unready* (New Haven, 2016), 102-103.

invention, one perhaps first composed at the request of a future archbishop, given that Anselm had written to Lanfranc to request a Life of Dunstan.[69]

Eadmer's *Vita Dunstani* made clear that it was Dunstan's duty to 'reprove, warn, chastise, and correct' those under the Devil's influence, without regard for rank or status, including the royal court and the king.[70] Dunstan and Edgar clashed when the archbishop reproved a noble for having married a relative, with Eadmer expanding considerably on Adelard's account.[71] The same noble subsequently complained to the king of Dunstan's immoderate and unjust severity'.[72] When Edgar ordered Dunstan to desist, the archbishop was amazed that the pious king had so easily been seduced. He continued his admonition, excommunicating the noble until he eventually did penance before the royal assembly, Dunstan preserving his 'firm disciplined appearance' until the very last moment.[73] By forcefully admonishing a member of the political elite, and by extracting a highly public penance, all in direct defiance of the king's command, Dunstan's actions made clear his mastery of the royal court. Even as pious a king as Edgar should be disobeyed when that court's morality was concerned.

Such a ruler also required correction himself. Dunstan had already forbidden Edgar from hunting on Sundays and was later forced to make the king perform penance for an especially heinous crime.[74] The archbishop and king had been bound by mutual love and respect, until the Devil stained the king with sin when Edgar raped a nun at Wilton, a scandal that appalled Dunstan and the kingdom.[75] At their next meeting, Edgar attempted to greet Dunstan and lead him to the throne, but the saint recoiled from his touch, accusing the dumbfounded king of shameless adultery and disrespect for God. His own pure hands would not touch the king until he had been cleansed by penance.[76] Edgar threw himself to the ground, admitting his sin. Dunstan, embracing this humility, lifted the king up and, speaking 'in friendly fashion', imposed a seven-year penance. The king undertook this with zeal and also, at the 'prompting and advice of his father [Dunstan]', committed other pious deeds,

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[69] Rubenstein, 'Osbern (d. 1094?)'; *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols. (1938–1961), 3: 150-151.
[70] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, in *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J Turner (Oxford, 2006), 106-107.
[71] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 118 n. 103.
[72] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 116-117.
[73] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 118-119.
[74] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 129-131, 134 n. 120 The incident was first described by Osbern, but Eadmer added Wilton as the location.
[75] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 135-137.
[76] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 136-137.

ordering the kingdom through Christian laws and punishing those who resisted.[77] While Dunstan's correction of king and court was initially forceful, it ended with the humility and co-operation of both noble and king, with the archbishop advising them how best to repent to win benefits for both themselves and the realm. Edgar's penance, in particular, may have had a contemporary resonance. Eadmer was the first to connect the incident to Wilton, the convent from which Matilda (c. 1080-1118), later Queen and wife of Henry I, had fled to Scotland, despite Anselm's attempts to force her to remain.[78] In 1100, the clergy objected to Henry's plans to marry her and Anselm convened an enquiry in which Matilda testified that she only wore the veil to dissuade unwelcome suitors, among whom may have been William Rufus. Eadmer, as Anselm's secretary, would have known this and indeed accompanied Anselm to a meeting with Rufus in February 1094 to discuss the issue. Eadmer's account here may have incorporated Matilda's testimony or at least had more recent events in mind.[79]

The flagrant disregard for episcopal oversight exhibited by Edgar's predecessor, Eadwig, culminated in an infamous incident which grew in the retelling.[80] The author B was the first to describe the king's affair with Æthelgifu and her daughter Ælfgifu and how the king had abandoned his nobility, during his own coronation feast, preferring the company of the two women. When Archbishop Oda of Canterbury (r. 941-958) asked for volunteers to force the king's return, all were terrified of the wrath of Eadwig and his lovers except for Abbot Dunstan and his relative Cynsige, the bishop of Lichfield (d. 963). Upon entering the royal bedchamber, they found the crown tossed aside while the king disgraced himself with the two women. After informing the king that his nobility had requested his return, Dunstan dragged the king from his bed, recrowned him and 'marched him off... parted from his women if only by main force'.[81] Eadmer too noted that Dunstan 'dragged him violently' back to the feast, although the abbot had first begged the ruler to free himself from 'such disgrace'.[82] William of Malmesbury's account noted that Oda had initially calmed the nobility 'with fatherly advice' but also added that Oda advised Dunstan and Cynsige to threaten Eadwig with excommunication if necessary. The two clerics, according to William,

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[77] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 136-137.
[78] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 134-135.
[79] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 134-135, n. 121. For further discussion: Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, 183-185; Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 260-264; E. Searle, 'Women and the Legitimisation of Succession at the Norman Conquest', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 3 (1980), 159-170, at 166-169.
[80] B., *Vita Dunstani*, in *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2011), 26-27 n. 40.
[81] B, *Vita Dunstani*, 67-69.
[82] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 98-99; Eadmer, *Vita S. Odonis*, in *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J Turner (Oxford, 2006), 26-27 provided a similiar account.

had first tried to persuade Eadwig 'in a calm tone, though in firm spirit and with firm language' before they then 'frightened the king with talk of excommunication'. In fact, according to William, when Dunstan dragged Eadwig from the room, the king did not resist 'out of respect for Dunstan or for conscience's sake'.[83] Clearly the event attracted attention, but authors such as William felt free to modify specific details and did not simply repeat the earlier accounts they found in their sources.

The episode highlights several important themes found in the *vitae* more generally. Dunstan's actions were presented as forceful, even violent. The bravery of the two clerics was praised because they had intervened, and admonished, where others had feared to do so. At the same time, it is worth remembering that violent confrontation had not been sought for its own sake. Dunstan and Cynsige had first warned the king, calmly but firmly, before his continued obstinacy had forced them to drag him from his bed. Even as sinful and tyrannical a ruler as Eadwig, according to Malmesbury at least, had respected Dunstan when he did so. There was more to this encounter than forceful admonition and royal sin. Finally, we must remember than Dunstan was not alone in his admonition. While the focus, as one would expect, was on Dunstan, the future archbishop of Canterbury was accompanied by the bishop of Lichfield. From the beginning then, while a Canterbury tradition of *admonitio* might well overshadow any rivals, it had no monopoly in terms of historical precedents for examples of the episcopal oversight of kings.

In his *Life* of Oda of Canterbury, Eadmer criticised Eadwig for his juvenile character and his preference for the advice of young companions over that of old men 'whom it was generally agreed, because of their life, morals, and great age were endowed with diligence and authority'.[84] For this, Eadwig was 'rebuked' by Oda, who was praised by Eadmer as 'a most brave soldier of Christ' for enforcing a norm of Ciceronian and Pseudo-Cyprian pedigree.[85] The archbishop's admonition was again presented as forceful and violent. Initially, according to Eadmer, the king had restrained himself, fearing that, if he failed to follow Oda's advice, the archbishop 'would delay bestowing upon him the blessing of the royal office'.[86] Once crowned, however, Eadwig followed all his whims and desires. While his companions encouraged these sins, Oda 'became the public enemy' of his evil behaviour when he realised Eadwig 'did not want to acquiesce to his warnings or his entreaties and

[83] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 226-227.
[84] Eadmer, *Vita S. Odonis*, 24-27.
[85] Eadmer, *Vita S. Odonis*, 26-27.
[86] Eadmer, *Vita S. Odonis*, 25-27.

rebukes in order to mend his ways'.[87] Public opposition, once again, only followed when 'warnings... entreaties, and rebukes' had failed.

Prophecy provided a means for bishops to demonstrate forcefully the connection between royal behaviour and the consequences it would visit upon the realm and the king's successors. According to William of Malmesbury, Wulfstan of Worcester castigated the wicked by using both 'menacing words' and 'plain prophecies'. The bishop warned Harold Godwinson, for example, of the damage he would inflict upon himself and the kingdom if he failed to correct sin.[88] Catherine Cubitt has pointed out that the portrayal of Dunstan as prophet shifted across his *vitae.* [89] Adelard of Ghent strengthened the political dimension of his prophecies, with Dunstan portrayed as predicting the prosperity of Edgar's peaceful reign, as well as the invasions that would follow.[90] Osbern, in turn, had Dunstan predict, at Æthelred II's coronation, the fall of the king's dynasty, a consequence of Æthelred's connivance in the murder of his brother.[91] According to Osbern, Dunstan was not above bribing the king to end the siege of Rochester, but Æthelred had still allowed his men to plunder. Dunstan replied, 'with contempt', that as the king had preferred money to God, evils would fall upon the realm which would be without parallel since the time 'when the people of the Anglo-Saxons began to reign'.[92] Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*, completed around 1115, repeated the story that Dunstan had 'sternly denounced' Æthelred for seizing the kingdom after his brother's murder.[93] Proof of Dunstan's foresight, Eadmer argued, could be found in chronicles, including his own, as well as in 'our afflictions by those who know how to discern them'.[94] William of Malmesbury added to the story by claiming that Dunstan had announced Æthelred's 'worthlessness' at the king's baptism, when the royal infant 'interrupted the ceremony by opening his bowels'.[95] In Malmesbury's version, when Dunstan was 'provoked

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[87] Eadmer, *Vita S. Odonis*, 25-27. I have chosen to translate here 'publicus hostis' as 'public enemy' whereas the original translation has 'avowed enemy'.
[88] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, in *Saints' Lives. Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 56-59.
[89] Catherine Cubitt, 'Archbishop Dunstan: A Prophet in Politics?', in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. Julia Barrow (Aldershot, 2008), 145-166.
[90] Cubitt, 'Archbishop Dunstan', 148-149.
[91] Osbern, *Memorials of St Dunstan*, 114-115.
[92] Osbern, *Memorials of St Dunstan*, 117, 123-124; Cubitt, 'Archbishop Dunstan', 150-152 for translation. Eadmer and William of Malmesbury followed Osbern's account, though the former disguised Dunstan's use of bribery.
[93] Southern, *Anselm and His Biographer*, 298.
[94] Eadmer of Canterbury, *History of Recent Events in England*, trans. Geoffrey Bosanquet (London, 1964), 3-4; Eadmer of Canterbury, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule (London, 1884), 3 'in nostris tribulationibus qui advertere sciunt'.
[95] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 272-275.

by Æthelred's obstinacy' at Rochester, he warned the king that the town's patron, St Andrew, would take revenge.[96] The forceful nature of these prophecies, and the criticisms they contain, is especially striking. As Malmesbury put it, Dunstan used 'no veil of riddling to conceal his meaning, but he spoke his warnings straight out even to the king himself'.[97] Prophecies were thus a particularly direct form of rebuke, one which also underlined the bishop's duty to make clear the connection between royal behaviour and the realm's misfortunes.

The context in which admonition took place is not always apparent, but the *vitae* occasionally stress that criticisms were relayed in private. When Anselm first arrived at Rufus's court, he was greeted with honour, exchanging 'cheerful' conversation with the king, before he asked the others to leave so that they could speak privately.[98] Anselm put aside the business of Bec (as Eadmer reminded his audience this was '*supposed* to be his chief reason for coming) and instead rebuked the king for actions which, as rumours across the realm reported, 'by no means befitted the dignity of a king'. While Eadmer did not record Rufus's reaction,[99] William of Malmesbury repeated the story, describing how, during 'a private interview', Anselm gave a 'understated account' of matters relating to Bec, which were settled quickly, but that the king then 'swept away with a guffaw the sore points' Anselm had also raised by arguing that a holy man should not believe such rumours. Malmesbury pointed out that, nonetheless, Rufus did not 'snub by some more provocative reply a man whom he knew to have been highly regarded by his father and mother'.[100] The story was modified again by John of Salisbury in his own *Vita Anselmi*, written c. 1162/1163. John claimed the Church had suffered because no one was willing 'to place himself as a wall before the house of the Lord'.[101] When Anselm reprimanded the king, he 'stood up to the king face-to-face for he did not bear the oil of the sinner which hirelings rub soothingly on the heads of rulers who go astray'.[102] Eadmer's initial account was thus not copied verbatim. In Eadmer's original

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[96] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 274-275.
[97] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Rodney N. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007), 1: 608-609.
[98] Eadmer of Canterbury, *Vita Anselmi*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (London, 1962), 64.
[99] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 64.
[100] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 118-119.
[101] John of Salisbury, *Vita St Anselmi*, ed. Migne, Patrologia Latina, 199 (Paris, 1900), 1021; John of Salisbury, *Anselm & Becket: Two Canterbury Saints' Lives*, trans. Ronald E. Pepin (Toronto, 2009), 38 'Unde cum Ecclesia undique pateretur, eo gravior erat vexatio, quod non erat qui se opponeret murum pro domo Domini'.
[102] John of Salisbury, *Vita St Anselmi*, 1022; John of Salisbury, *Lives*, 39. Psalm 140.5: 'Omissis itaque propriis, publica concepit curare negotia: et solus cum solo loquens quae privatim et publice dicebantur exposuit, statuitque regem contra faciem suam. Non enim attulerat oleum peccatoris, quo mercenarii demulcent errantium capita potestatum'.

account, Anselm's criticisms were said to reflect his concern for the king's dignity and reputation. John of Salisbury added even further emphasis on Anselm's duty to correct the king, and protect the Church, while William explored Rufus's reaction in greater detail.

An encounter between Hugh of Lincoln and Richard I, recorded by Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita*, bears some resemblances to that between Anselm and Rufus. Richard had asked Hugh for an interview to confirm their friendship, following the conclusion to a dispute (discussed further below). Although Hugh was grateful for the king's request, as Richard's spiritual father he felt responsible for his soul and so drew him aside at that moment so that they could speak in private.[103] As Richard had been born in Oxford, within Hugh's own diocese, the bishop reminded the king that he would be responsible for the soul of his royal parishioner on Judgement Day. Hugh then asked the king to open his conscience so that he could provide him with better counsel; a year had passed since they had last done so. Richard explained that his conscience was clear besides his hatred for his enemies.[104] Hugh argued that, as long as Richard pleased God, divine favour would defeat his enemies or force their reconciliation.[105] Like Anselm, Hugh then raised rumours regarding the king's personal conduct. He criticised Richard's infidelity to his wife and his violation of ecclesiastical privileges. In particular, the king's promotion of bishops through friendship or payment, Hugh warned, would ensure that he would never enjoy peace. Unlike Rufus, however, Richard 'listened attentively to his exhortations and counsels, denying in some cases that he was guilty and imploring the assistance of his prayers in others'.[106] Gerald of Wales provided a similar account, one notable for the language used to characterise the relationship: Hugh 'with a father's affection invited the son to amendment' and Richard 'accepted this fatherly reproof and correction... very patiently and gently'.[107] The outcome of the two encounters, unsurprisingly, was thus not pre-determined by the confidential setting. It is notable that, on both occasions, the bishop approached the king regarding a rumour of his sexual misconduct (implicitly in Eadmer's case), though Hugh had also highlighted the

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[103] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis. The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln* , ed. and trans. Decima L. Douie and David Hugh Farmer, 2 vols. (Oxford 1961-1985), 2: 103.
[104] That this was a particular problem faced by rulers such as Richard may be suggested by the fact that his answer echoed a similiar concern ascribed by Peter of Blois to Henry II. See White, 'Politics of Anger', 145, 151, 160-161.
[105] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 2:103. Hugh cited Proverb 16:7, but the following proverb, 16:8, was also appropriate: 'Better is a little with justice, than great revenues with iniquity.
[106] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 104-105.
[107] Gerald of Wales, *The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln* , ed. and trans. Richard M. Loomis (London, 1985), 28-29, 119. Loomis suggested that Hugh's complaints included Richard's infidelity and sale of church offices (presumably because of Adam of Eynsham's testimony).

king's abuse of church appointments. While Eadmer and John of Salisbury did not focus on Anselm's forceful rebuke, Hugh of Lincoln's admonition was characterised as that of a spiritual father, engaged in the pastoral care of a parishioner and wayward son.

Occasionally there is a hint that opportunities for correction were less well-chosen. Eadmer went on to describe how Anselm pressed for the correction of abuses within the Church when he visited the royal court to bless Rufus before his departure for Normandy. A delay to the crossing made Anselm think 'he had found a suitable opportunity' to 'solicit' the king for the relief of the churches, the revival of Christian law, and 'the reform of morals' which were corrupt throughout the realm. This time, Rufus showed the 'greatest displeasure', declared he would do nothing, and angrily ordered Anselm to leave.[108] The audience for this encounter is not clear, but may well have been public, as Eadmer's stress on the private nature of the previous encounter is not repeated. It is perhaps worth noting that the term used to describe Anselm's approach (*interpellare*) can mean 'to solicit', but also to disturb, disrupt, hinder, annoy, and, indeed, speak out of turn.[109] What for Anselm might have seemed a suitable opportunity, caused by a change in the weather, may not have been an appropriate moment for admonition: Rufus had come to the coast expecting to cross the Channel, not to receive a lecture.

It will already be apparent that the means by which one corrected the king, and the setting in which it took place, could vary considerably. At the same time, the prelate's duty to criticise improper royal behaviour is clear in each of these examples. As Michael Staunton has highlighted, Becket's biographers, and the archbishop himself, all regarded this obligation as a central aspect of the Becket dispute.[110] Herbert of Bosham included a theoretical discussion of this responsibility. He contrasted Becket with bishops by whose 'dissimulation many kings turn into tyrants' and who 'stroke, caress and soothe them, whom they ought to have commanded, as fathers do their sons'.[111] Such prelates feared to identify or correct error in case they offended the king, with Herbert drawing a parallel with how the biblical prophet Isaiah had gone on to reproach himself when he had similarly failed to

[108] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 68-71. It was at this point, Eadmer thought, that Anselm lost his tranquillity of mind and complained bitterly of his involvement in secular affairs

[109] http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059:entry=interpello accessed at 01/08/2018.

[110] What follows draws heavily on Michael Staunton, *Thomas Becket and His Biographers* (Woodbridge, 2006), 118-128.

[111] *MTB* 3: 257 'Quorum dissimulationibus reges plerumque transeunt in tyrannos; quos, proh dolor, ipsi archipraesules palpant, demulcent, et deliniunt, quibus potius tanquam patres filiis imperare debuissent'.

correct King Ahab.[112] Isaiah's lament was referred to by Becket himself, in a letter to the king which explained his duty to correct him, while Herbert claimed that the archbishop had made a lengthy speech on the same topic to the cardinals assembled at Sens.[113] In general, both Becket and his biographers dwelt less on any theoretical relationship between Church and Crown, than on the king's character, behaviour, and the importance of admonition.

Becket's own letters to the king were structured around Henry's attacks on the Church and a pastor's duty to correct.[114] In his letter *Loqui de Deo*, Becket described himself as caught between God's warning to Ezekiel on the one hand, which stressed the necessity of correction, and the king's anger on the other: the archbishop concluded it was safer to invite royal, rather than divine, wrath. Henry, Becket warned, was in danger of turning his back on God, as Solomon had done, when he should instead be emulating the penance undertaken by David.[115] In another letter, *Desiderio desideravi*, copied by Edward Grim and Guernes (writing, respectively, 1171 x 1172 and 1174) and which had been read aloud before Henry II at Chinon, Becket claimed he longed to see Henry's face:

> 'First, because you are my lord, second, because you are my king, and third, because you are my spiritual son ... Because you are my son, I am bound to reprove and restrain you by means of my office. For a father corrects his son, sometimes with mild ones, sometimes with severe ones, so that in this way he may draw him back to right-doing.[116]

Henry should repent, like David and Hezekiah, to regain divine favour and not remain obstinate as Pharaoh, Saul, Nebuchadnezzar, and Solomon had done. In Becket's third letter, *Exspectans exspectavi*, included by Guernes, Becket described how he waited for the king to repent and to cut away 'the evil ones by whose incitement, as we believe, and counsel' Henry had almost been damned.[117] Becket argued he himself would be at fault if he neglected to correct, citing Gratian's *Decretum* that 'not only they who do wrong, but also they who agree

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[112] Isaiah 6:5; *MTB* 3: 258; Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 118. Compare Cicero's discussion of how the duty correct can cause offence in friendship: Cicero, *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione*, ed. and trans. W. A. Falconer (London, 1923), 126-127, 198-199.
[113] *CTB* 2: 880-1, 1002-3; *MTB* 5:480; Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 118.
[114] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 121.
[115] *CTB* 1: 266-267 where Becket stated explicitly 'distress and danger have sought me out: set between two very grievous and fearful things and fearful between two very heavy imperatives, between silence and admoniton'.
[116] *CTB* 1: 292-299; Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 122.
[117] *CTB* 1: 328–343.

to it, are judged to be participants'.[118] Becket reminded Henry of God's favour towards him and how rulers described in the Old Testament had been faced with the withdrawal of such favour when they had usurped the offices of the priesthood. Becket cited Ambrose's excommunication of Theodosius and Nathan's correction of David, with his own letter to Henry II drawing upon the one Ambrose had sent to the emperor.[119] Becket thus conceptualised his duties, in relation to the king, in biblical and patristic terms, drawing upon those examples to highlight the importance of both episcopal correction and royal penance.

According to his biographers, Thomas's transition from chancellor to archbishop had increased his propensity to correct. This was thus an explicitly archiepiscopal duty tied to his new office. According to Herbert, Becket recognised that 'when there is a different profession, there tends to be a different habit of life (*conversatio*) and adapted his behaviour accordingly'.[120] Between election and consecration, he asked Herbert to monitor his conduct who praised the 'episcopal form in one not yet a bishop'.[121] Edward Grim explained that, after ordination, Becket would no longer make allowances for those who attacked divine justice, regardless of their dignity.[122] The Anonymous II, writing 1172 x 1173, suggested that, although as chancellor Becket had followed a middle path in case he offended the king, he was now duty-bound to oppose Henry with greater freedom and authority.[123] Similarly, the Anonymous I, writing 1176 x 1177, stated 'what venerable action the priest was performing, and how he was, could not escape the king's attention'.[124] Becket's conversion was not the immediate cause of conflict (the biographers blamed evil counsellors for that), but it ensured the new archbishop opposed the king with greater vigour.[125]

This was, in part, a specifically Canterbury tradition, one which Becket himself claimed with pride. David Knowles suggested that geography and historical circumstance helped create the impression of the archbishop of Canterbury as the king's first counsellor.[126]

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[118] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 122; *Decretum Gratiani, Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879), D 86, c. 3.
[119] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 122-123.
[120] Michael Staunton, 'Thomas Becket's Conversion', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1999), 193-211, at 200-1; *MTB* 3: 167 'Verum quorum est diversa professio, diversa solet esse conversatio'.
[121] Staunton, 'Thomas Becket's Conversion', 201; *MTB* 3: 186 'O forma jam in necdum episcopo episcopalis, certe omnibus, sed praesertim episcopis, et admiranda et imitanda!'
[122] Staunton, 'Thomas Becket's Conversion', 207; *MTB* 2: 370.
[123] *MTB* 4: 88.
[124] *MTB* 4: 22 'Quid autem venerandum antistes ageret, et quomodo se haberet, regem latere non potuit'.
[125] Staunton, 'Thomas Becket's Conversion', 207.
[126] Knowles, *Becket*, 70-71, 74.

Becket himself wrote to Cardinal Boso (d. 1178) to ask if the latter had 'ever heard tell of any other prelate in England than the archbishop of Canterbury having offered resistance to the princes of the liberties of the church'.[127] Becket himself was likely influenced by Anselm's example.[128] His biographer, John of Salisbury, had described how his predecessor had defended the Church against royal tyranny in a work which Becket himself is likely to have known well.[129] As Herbert of Bosham pointed out, Becket made use of Anselm's prayers and aimed to have his predecessor canonised. John's *Vita Anselmi* had been part of that effort and Herbert's own image of Anselm, like that imagined by Becket and John, was specifically one of a 'hammer of tyrants'.[130] Becket had commissioned decorations for his own chapel which portrayed the lives of those, such as Peter and Paul, who had similarly been persecuted for defending the Church's freedom.[131]

Becket's approach provoked contemporary as much as modern criticism. None disputed a prelate's duty to correct the king as a spiritual son, but the wisdom of his methods was questioned. Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London (r. 1163-1187) claimed Becket had provoked the king and acted without a father's devotion or a pontiff's patience.[132] In the final section of his letter *Multiplicem nobis* (c. 1166), Foliot argued that royal customs, like a well-rooted plant, should be extracted slowly and gave examples of how other churchmen had defeated evil behaviour 'not with reproaches, but with blessings and praise, and steady encouragement'. Becket had instead ignored the counsel of his brothers, wounded the Church, and then deserted it by rebelling against the king to the spiritual detriment of his subjects.[133] As we saw in chapter 1, William of Newburgh criticised Becket's excessive zeal, comparing it to the more cautious approach adopted by Gregory the Great. William also noted that St Paul had rebuked St Peter's aggressive attempts to compel Gentiles to become Jews, arguing that Becket too should have shown greater prudence.[134] Becket was criticised by some contemporaries for being too aggressive. A more patient approach, which took

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[127] Warren, *Henry II,* 504-505; *MTB* 5: 270.; *CTB* 1: 718-721. Becket indeed claimed to the cardinal that 'you will find none if you read the ancient histories'.
[128] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 193-194.
[129] John of Salisbury, *Lives*, 40; John of Salisbury, *Vita St Anselmi*, 1020-1021.
[130] Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, 79; *MTB* 3:270, 540.
[131] O'Reilly, 'Double Martyrdom', 224; Ursula Nilgen, 'Thomas Becket as a Patron of the Arts: the Wall Painting of St. Anselm's Chapel at Canterbury Cathedral', *Art History* 3 (1980), 357-374, at 363, 370.
[132] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographer,* 123; Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 170.
[133] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographer,* 123-124; *CTB* 1: 526–537.
[134] Michael Staunton, 'Thomas Becket in the Chronicles', in *The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet world, c.1170-c.1220,* ed. Marie-Pierre Gelin and Paul Webster (Woodbridge, 2016), 95-112, at 98-99; Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 242; *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett (London, 1884-9), i, 160-161.

account of the importance of timing and compromise, and which included praise for the king, would have proved more effective.

Social status may have been a factor here. Mayr-Harting attributed contemporary suggestions that Henry II and Hugh of Lincoln were related to the fact that the bishop came closer than most to looking like a genuine friend, his liberty to criticise the king comparable to that of a kinsman.[135] Roger, bishop of Worcester (r. 1164-1179), Henry's kinsman, upbraided the king, but the two returned to amiable conversation afterwards.[136] According to William FitzStephen, a knight who witnessed this, hoping to gain royal favour, insulted the bishop in the king's presence. Henry rounded on him:

> 'Do you think, you rascal, that if I say what I choose to my bishop and kinsman, either you or any other man may dishonour him with your tongue or threaten him with impunity? I can hardly keep my hands from your eyes; neither you nor the others may say one word against the bishop.'

The king could say what he liked to his 'bishop and kinsman', a knight could not. Roger's status as a relative was important here, but so too was Roger's episcopal status, the king emphasising he was 'my [the king's] bishop'.[137] In another, more extreme, example recorded by Gerald of Wales, the king was confronted by a peasant who insisted, in English, that Henry pay more attention to the Sabbath. Henry refused to address him in person, instead asking one of his knights (in French) to address 'that peasant'.[138] Becket's social status was certainly invoked as an insult. According to the Anonymous I, after the Council of Westminster (1163) the king accused Becket of ingratitude and hostility, having raised him from a humble rank.[139] When Becket replied by reminding the king of his duty to obey God, the archbishop received a reply little better than that of an English peasant: the king did not want a sermon from 'the offspring of one of my peasants'.[140] Such comments no doubt reflect a more general atmosphere of suspicion at court: Walter Map, for example, warned repeatedly of the evils which would follow if the king allowed his government to be

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[135] Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society*, 195.
[136] *MTB* 3: 104-106.
[137] The translation used here is taken from *The Life and Death of Thomas Becket*, trans. George Greenaway (London, 1962), 135. *MTB* 3: 106 'Putasne, pessime, si quae volo dicam cognato et episcopo meo, liceat ideo tibi vel alis cuiquam eum verbis inhonorare, aut minis insectari? Equidem vix manus contineo ab oculis tuis; tibi et alliis contra episcopum nefas sit mutire'.
[138] Vincent, 'Court of Henry II', 314.
[139] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 35; MTB 4: 27-28.
[140] *MTB* 4: 27-28 'nonne tu filius fuisti cuiusdam rustici mei?'.

dominated by those from a similar background to Becket.[141] Hugh of Lincoln's aristocratic background has been regarded by Cowdrey and Mayr-Harting as a possible clue as to why his admonition of the king proved so much more successful. It is worth bearing in mind, however, that such status could be very much in the eye of the beholder. Hugh, like Becket, faced accusations of low-birth and ingratitude during the periods in which he too had lost royal favour. Social status perhaps mattered then, more as a stick to beat those who had already offended the king, than as a factor in determining a bishop's approach towards admonition.

In fact, Becket, and the image of him conveyed by his biographers, was more restrained than many modern assessments have allowed. Even Herbert of Bosham, regarded as the most aggressive of Becket's followers, suggested caution towards the king himself, at least initially.[142] Following the Samaritan, Herbert suggested Becket should cure sin first by the oil of leniency and only use the harsher treatment of wine if necessary.[143] According to Herbert, the archbishop considered biblical exhortations which warned against direct criticism, but concluded that he was not speaking ill of Henry, but merely applying paternal discipline.[144] As Frank Barlow pointed out, Becket preferred to criticise royal servants or bishops whom he felt had failed in their duties.[145] The archbishop's advisors, aware of Henry's power, and deferential towards monarchy, also counselled patience and caution. Becket, who continued to regard the king with affection, saw Henry for the most part as badly-advised and the victim of circumstance. More importantly, sparing the king left him the opportunity to repent, allowing Becket to concentrate on easier targets. Even if Becket felt Henry bore ultimate responsibility for his excesses, the Canterbury martyr was more restrained in his *admonitio* than both his medieval and modern detractors have allowed.

Both Becket and his critics thus recognised a tradition of episcopal censure which, while forceful at times, was also more restrained and varied than has been realised. It was the multi-faceted nature of this tradition which created the space for contemporaries to dispute Becket's approach. The conflict between the archbishop and the king, in this sense, formed

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[141] Björn Weiler, 'Royal Virtue and Royal Justice in William of Malmesbury and Walter Map', in *Virtue and Ethics in the Twelfth Century*, ed. István P. Bejczy and Richard G. Newhauser (Leiden, 2005), 317-340, at 335-336; Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. and trans. M.R. James, C.N.L. Brooke, and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), 12-13, 438-39, 472-473, 428-429.
[142] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 124-127
[143] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 126. *MTB* 3, 380-3, 386-7.
[144] *MTB* 3, 387-91; Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 127-128.
[145] Barlow, *Becket*, 148, 194.

part of a wider debate, which we can see played out in the English *vitae*, regarding the best way to criticise a king, a discussion in which restraint, wit, humour, and caution arguably played a more prominent role than episcopal violence, forceful rebukes, or terrifying prophecies.

The use of wit and humour in political communication has increasingly been examined as part of what Stephen Jaeger termed the 'civilising of Europe'.[146] Pointing to what he suggested were especially episcopal qualities, such as courtesy, gentleness of spirit, affability, and wit, Jaeger characterised the latter as one of the 'superior weapons of intellectual suppleness' needed to survive at the royal court.[147] As John Gillingham pointed out, Becket's household was, for Herbert of Bosham, renowned as a school of civilised and courtly conduct.[148] Such behaviour, inculcated initially by the cathedral schools, had spread to a wider elite by the twelfth century. Katrin Beyer has noted that the 'performative power of short and appropriate remarks... provoke laughter and thereby enable the protagonists to surmount difficulties and vanquish critical situations'.[149] Tense situations could be disarmed through laughter. In this regard, a well-timed joke might play a role not dissimilar to that attributed by Henry Mayr-Harting to ritual by allowing the 'reversal of an action or an attitude of an individual in a society where the loss of face would be too great without it'.[150] As we saw in chapter 1, the importance attached to these qualities was, in part, a classical legacy, but one very much in accord with the stress laid by Gregory the Great on carefully choosing the means by which one admonished the powerful. Wit and humour were an ideal means to diffuse tension, but courtly behaviour in general proved a useful foundation for those who wished to criticise an English king.

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[146] Stephen C. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness* (Philadelphia, 1985), 36-37; Katrin Beyer, 'Wit and Irony - Rhetorical Strategies and their Performance in Political and Learned Communication in England (c. 1066-1259)', in *Networks of Learning. Perspectives on Scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000-1200*, ed. Sita Steckel, Niels Gaul, and Michael Grünbart (Berlin, 2015), 147-160.

[147] C. Stephen Jaeger, 'The Courtier Bishop in "Vitae" from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 291-325; Jaeger, *Origins*, 39-42.

[148] John Gillingham, 'From "Civilitas" to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 6:12 (2002), 267-289, at 281.

[149] Beyer, 'Wit and Irony', 152.

[150] Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-century Recluse: The Miracles of St Frideswise', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and Robert I. Moore (London, 1985), 193-206, at 206.

Admonition, as we have seen, did not have to be confrontational.[151] One encounter, described in Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita*, merits a more detailed discussion here as it provides an account in which the protagonists themselves debate how one should approach the king. According to Adam, when Henry II lost interest in building up the royal foundation at Witham, the unpaid masons insulted Prior Hugh (the later bishop of Lincoln) and his brothers. When Hugh suggested that the king should be given a second chance, his fellow-monks called him lazy and indifferent.[152] One, named Gerard, was 'of rather harsh temperament... whose words had considerable force with kings and magnates'. He demanded to know how long Hugh would humour the king 'instead of bluntly telling him' that their community would leave the kingdom if Henry did not complete the work.[153] As Knowles pointed out, Becket's third and most critical letter to Henry II had been delivered by an ascetic brother, also named Gerard, who was remembered for his direct and blunt speech to the king. Although difficult to verify, that very incident may lie behind Adam's acknowledgment of the monk's capacity for forceful criticism, one put into practice once again a decade after the Becket dispute.[154] Gerard reminded Hugh that the king's neglect was an embarrassment to their community and he insisted on joining Hugh, on his visit to the king, in case the prior's shyness prevented him from speaking out.[155] In response, Hugh warned Gerard 'to be courteous as well as frank', noting the king's craftiness, his 'almost unfathomable mind' and that Henry might well be testing them in their current adversity.[156] When Henry received their delegation, he apologised and offered lavish promises, but no guarantees. Consequently, the 'fiery brother Gerard... turned furiously upon the king', informing him he preferred 'barren Alpine crags' to this struggle with a ruler who did not even value money spent on his own salvation.[157] Hugh, as Adam reminded his readers the 'courteous prior', felt ashamed at this 'outburst' and later told Adam that he still shuddered to relate the 'terrible things' said by Gerard, to whom he admitted God had given 'such amazing boldness'. Hugh cautioned Gerard to 'speak less bluntly, and either to moderate his language or be silent altogether', but Gerard refused to listen, confident in 'good conscience,

[151] As pointed out in Weiler, 'Clerical Admonitio', 575; William of Malmesbury pointed out, for instance, that the 'gifts of kingly character' of Cædwalla (d. 689) were 'encouraged by the lively admonitions' of Malmesbury's founder, Aldhelm' (c. 639-709). William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 535.
[152] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 64.
[153] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 64-65.
[154] Knowles, *Becket*, 112.
[155] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 65.
[156] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 65-66.
[157] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 66.

old age, and noble birth'.[158] Henry remained silent and calm, but noted Hugh's discomfort and asked if he planned to leave him in peace. Hugh replied 'gently in a low voice' that he had not lost confidence in the king but pitied how worldly business distracted him from his own salvation: with God's help, he would complete the work. Henry embraced Hugh in response, urged him to remain in the kingdom, and then took counsel for his soul before sending on the necessary funds.[159] Hugh's more gentle, courteous, and flattering approach proved more successful, and was deliberately contrasted by Adam with Gerard's bold, forceful, and blunt speech. The latter may not have been wise, but it was still regarded as impressive and divinely inspired. Nonetheless, it was Hugh's approach which won out: the material consequences may even find expression in the Pipe Rolls which record an increase in the money sent to Witham after the meeting allegedly took place.[160]

The *Magna Vita* goes on to describe how king and prior thereafter frequently conversed. Adam insisted that Hugh never flattered the king, but instead,

> 'preached in season and out of season, in every case and business, at all times and in all places, reproving, exhorting, and rebuking him with all long-suffering and pleasant doctrine... acting on the excellent advice of St Benedict... alternated according to the times between sternness and persuasion.'[161]

Henry's heart would not be won over simply by stern rebukes. As Adam explained, Hugh was both firm and courteous, using 'a witty exposition of certain matters' as well as 'inspiring stories of illustrious men'.[162] Hugh constantly reminded the king of his sins, and urged him to make amends, his 'most vigorous rebukes' reserved for the plundering of church vacancies and undue royal influence over appointments. Hugh 'took full advantage of any private interview or conversation to drive his point home'. Adam explained, perhaps rather defensively, that this had been the reason why the prior was so often away from the monastery itself in the king's company.[163] Hugh's courteous approach was not regarded as

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[158] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 67; Job 32:19, 4:2. Adam comparing his eloquence to that of Elihu, the friend of Job.
[159] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 67-68.
[160] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: xxv Witham first appears in the year 1179-1180 when £63 6 8 was paid followed by only £34 14 0 in 1180-1181. Hugh and Gerard may have met Henry in October 1181 when the king was in Wiltshire. More generous payments followed in 1181-1182 amounting to £126 7 0, including £80 for the building work.
[161] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 70.
[162] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 70.
[163] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 72.

opposed to his firm *admonitio* of the king, but an essential precondition to it: it was the foundation which allowed the episcopal correction of royal sin to take place.

Indeed, in Adam's view, it was specifically Hugh's courtesy that drew the king's admiration. During a further dispute over Witham, Hugh again told Henry 'what he ought to know' and persuaded him not only to compensate those replaced by building work, but to buy up the old dwellings and give them to him for free.[164] The astounded king called Hugh 'an extraordinary prior' and because he had 'a sense of humour, thoroughly enjoyed his ready wit, and intentionally prolonged the verbal duel'.[165] Hugh's wit had brought about an act of royal largesse which enriched his community, but was, crucially, not to the detriment of the poor. Hugh's use of humour had allowed him to remind the king to behave virtuously.

The most famous incident recorded in the *Magna Vita* demonstrated Hugh's ability to regain royal favour, and criticise the king, while resisting royal demands. Indeed, the incident represented, for Adam, the new bishop's 'first conflict and victory'.[166] After Henry had turned against him for excommunicating his chief forester, Hugh encountered the king and his nobles sat in a circle in the forest. Like Gerard, Hugh was confronted with an awkward and intimidating silence. Adam pointed out that the king began bandaging his finger, to avoid the embarrassment of doing nothing. Hugh then 'with these few words lanced his swollen and inflamed heart' by joking to Henry: 'How you resemble your cousins at Falaise'.[167] Adam emphasised that he quoted the joke without any alteration and that it 'pierced the king to the heart', with Hugh having metaphorically 'flung him [the king] flat on the ground' when he had failed to listen to reason. The joke referred to William the Conqueror's illegitimate birth, with his mother supposedly a tanner's daughter.[168] Henry was 'overcome by the novelty of this courteous mockery, his good humour was restored, and he was impressed by the savoir-faire (*confidentiam*) of the man'.[169] The nobles who witnessed the encounter did not understand the joke, or Henry's change in attitude, until the king himself explained it. He then turned to his now 'good friend' to ask why he had excommunicated his forester without

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[164] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 62.
[165] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 63; Michael 3:10. For further examples of Hugh's wit with the king, including in private, see *Magna Vita*, 1: 85, 104.
[166] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 114.
[167] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 117.
[168] Contrary to Adam of Eynsham's description, David Bates' recent synthesis of the research concluded that William's mother, Herleva, likely came from the ministerial social class whose members would not have been out of place at the ducal court. See Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 25-27 and especially Elisabeth van Houts, 'The Origins of Herleva, Mother of William the Conqueror', *English Historical Review* 101 (1986), 389-404.
[169] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 117.

permission and why he had treated royal requests with contempt. Hugh flattered Henry in response: the king had worked hard to make him a bishop and Hugh was duty-bound to save his soul from his neglect of the Church. He thus 'deemed it unnecessary and inadvisable to approach your highness' given the king was 'quite wise enough to recognise what was right'.[170] The situation had been turned around by Hugh's wit, but his ability to cloak *admonitio* in courtesy proved no less significant in the aftermath.

Adam then claimed, however, that Hugh had found the king (and the royal forester) an example of the biblical saying 'He that rebuketh a man shall afterwards find more favour with him than he that flattereth with his tongue'.[171] In this sense, Adam sought to have it both ways, by glossing over the fact that Hugh had both flattered and rebuked the king. As Leyser recognised, the joke, in any case, underscored the legitimacy of Henry's descent from the previous dynasty.[172] In addition, we should recognise the king's agency in this encounter. Adam mentioned in passing that Hugh had, in fact, been invited by the king in the first place. When the joke was delivered, the nobles waited for Henry's reaction before responding themselves. It was thus left to the king, not the bishop, to explain the reference and, even then, Hugh followed it up with further flattery. Wit thus provided a useful tool to take the edge off the king's anger and to enable further dialogue and admonition. But it was Hugh's courtesy here, as much as his bravery, that mattered in an exchange which was more on the king's terms than often appreciated.

While the *Magna Vita* provides the most detailed examples, the use of wit and humour both to criticise and ameliorate kings was a more widespread theme. William of Malmesbury claimed that Lanfranc won Duke William's affection because the latter recognised his virtues from 'the dignity of his countenance and the wit of his retorts'.[173] Once king, William treated him with great respect, delighting in his presence and that of others 'heard to be zealous for good'. A more candid passage, from the earlier *B* version of the *Gesta Pontificum*, claimed that the archbishop 'managed the king with a holy skill, not

[170] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 118.
[171] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 119; Proverbs 28:23.
[172] Leyser, 'Angevin Kings', 164-165.
[173] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 51. An example of the wit attributed to Lanfranc can be found in Gilbert Crispin's *Vita Herluni*, written after 1109, in which Hugh, like Lanfranc, used a jest to return to royal favour and assuage Duke William's anger. See *Vita Herluini*, in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin: Abbot of Westminster*, ed. Anna Sapir Abulafia and G. R. Evans (Oxford, 1986), 197-198. The story was repeated and expanded in *Vita Lanfranci*, ed. Margaret Gibson, in *Lanfranco di Pavia e l'Europa del secolo XI nel IX centenario della morte*, ed. G. D'Onofrio (ed.) (Rome, 1993), 661-715, at 675-676.

sternly upbraiding what he did wrong, but spicing serious language with jokes'.[174] Through such a strategy, 'he could usually bring him back to a right mind, and mould him to his own opinions'. Malmesbury explained that Lanfranc was 'weighed down by the king's extraordinary arrogance... he could not stand up against his vices'. Instead, 'he studied his character, chose time and place, and made quiet interventions and timely suggestions, chipping away at some things and reducing the effect of others'. If, like his Anglo-Saxon predecessor St Dunstan, Lanfranc 'had thought of taking a hard line', according to Malmesbury, 'he would surely have wasted his effort' as the proud king would simply have ignored him.[175] Lanfranc's tactics worked to an extent: religious practice improved, the king 'abated his pride' in the company of the virtuous, and was especially restrained, humble, and godly around Lanfranc, whom he allowed to hold councils.[176] But Lanfranc had achieved these limited gains, not by emulating the bold approach of an Anglo-Saxon exemplar, but by managing an arrogant king with his wit and by carefully choosing the correct moment to offer counsel. Lanfranc's approach resembles the advice offered by Cicero and Gregory the Great, more than any biblical or Anglo-Saxon tradition of forceful correction.

As we saw above, Cowdrey suggested that the Conqueror was peculiarly receptive to Lanfranc's admonitions. If that were true, it was only due to the archbishop's indirect tactics. In fact, the *vitae* contain no examples of the Conqueror being forcefully admonished. The incident that comes closest here, from the *Vita Lanfranci*, written around 1140, certainly demonstrated Lanfranc's moral oversight of the king. On one occasion, when the king was sat in majesty, a jester exclaimed in adulation that he beheld God himself. Lanfranc quickly warned William not to tolerate such words and the king complied with his order to have the jester thrashed. The *Vita* explained that Lanfranc was concerned for the king's pride (the same vice criticised by Malmesbury) and that the archbishop had remembered the fate of King Herod Agrippa I who, in a comparable ceremony, had been struck down by an angel and consumed by worms.[177] While Lanfranc was portrayed as responsible here for the king's

[174] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 90-91.
[175] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 96-97, 588-589. Such wit was also described by William in relation to the more distant past and to the Carolingian court. The *Gesta Pontificum* pointed out the wit used by John the Scot at the court of Charles the Bald, the latter referring to John as 'master'.
[176] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 96-97.
[177] *Vita Lanfranci*, 708-709; Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 186-7; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 523. David Bates argued that the jester had assumed the performance would please the king, the incident illustrating that William viewed himself as a 'special king and expected to be treated in public as one'. He speculated too that maintaining this image was a priority and that the king tended to follow his own instincts before correcting later if necessary.

character, we should note that only the jester was punished and that the archbishop offered warning and instruction, rather than any more forceful correction.

To summarise, there was certainly a tradition of forceful episcopal oversight of English kings. Dragging a king out of bed was a remarkable act by any standard. But there was an equally important, arguably more pervasive, tradition of restraint and courtesy, in which bishops recognised the importance of picking and choosing exactly when, and how, to criticise the king. By looking at these encounters in greater detail, we have shown that Becket was more restrained and cautious in his admonition than scholars have allowed, that Lanfranc's admonitions were neither as direct, nor necessarily as successful, as has been suggested, and that Adam of Eynsham's own portrayal of Hugh of Lincoln often undercut his image of the bishop as the 'hammer of kings'. Restraint preceded even the most forceful of examples. When Malmesbury described how St Edmund punished the wickedness of Swein Forkbeard (r. 1013-1014), he pointed out that the saint 'gently admonished' the king first, before knocking him dead.[178] It is also worth stressing the moral content of these criticisms. Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Angevin kings were all censured for their moral, sexual, even 'unmanly' behaviour, and the disrespect for God that it implied. Criticism of contemporary kings did also, however, reflect greater episcopal scrutiny of royal control over the Church: the abuses of church privileges, and episcopal appointments, were criticised here alongside exhortations on the necessity of more general moral reform. On the whole though, concern for the ruler's personal conduct, alongside protection of the Church, certainly overshadows any criticisms of royal government itself.

Episcopal admonition of kings was far from the preserve of the archbishops of Canterbury and nor was a courteous and indirect approach the invention of the abbey of Bec. Becket may have claimed defending the Church against princes was a Canterbury prerogative, and he may well have reflected on the example set by Anselm and his Anglo-Saxon predecessors, but similar behaviour was both well-known beyond Canterbury and attributed to their northern rivals.[179] This was clearly a more widespread norm. As Weiler has pointed out, the *Gesta Stephani,* written in south-west England during the 1140s, lamented that the English episcopate had failed to stand up to the powerful, and it was Aelred, an abbot

[178] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 247.
[179] A metrical *Life* of Archbishop Thurstan, for example, described how the archbishop publicly criticised the king. A *Life of St Oswald*, by Senatus, also praised how Oda and Dunstan had criticised Eadwig. See Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 168; *The Historians of York and its Archbishops,* ed. James Raine RS, 2 vols. (London, 1879-1886), 2: 63, 262-265. In addition, see the examples concerning Wilfrid below.

of Rievaulx (c. 1110-1162) who provided the most detailed advice to Henry II on how to model his reign on the example of Edgar and Dunstan.[180] The importance of affability, and leaving oneself open to virtuous counsel, was also stressed by Walter Map.[181] Anglo-Norman chroniclers more generally composed morally instructive anecdotes which emphasised the transience of earthly power. The aim of such stories was to remind kings, as the bishops discussed above had done, that they remained fallible human beings beneath their crowns requiring clerical correction as much as any other layman.[182]

The attention paid to episcopal admonition may have also reflected a further tradition of moral oversight, again stretching back to the tenth century, in the form of the coronation oath. The promises it contained were not unusual, but Anglo-Saxon England provides an especially early, and forceful, example of how they were enforced. Dunstan refused to crown the king unless he first read out the promises and confirmed he would keep them.[183] John Maddicott suggested that Edgar's coronation at Bath in 973 was the turning point when 'mere admonition began to acquire both prescriptive force and a premonitory and latent undertone of institutional restraint'.[184] These commitments, which reflected the influence of the Pseudo-Cyprian, included a pledge to retain old, wise, and virtuous counsellors. As Roger of Howden's account of Richard I's performance of the oath in 1189 reminds us, tenth-century practice became a fixed aspect of the coronation ritual.[185] More generally, the inauguration ceremony highlighted that the king had a duty of care towards his subjects. It was the particular responsibility of his episcopate to remind him of that fact. Enforcing such moral oversight also provided a means by which a bishop could claim status and rank in relation to his fellow prelates.[186] We must, therefore, leave open the possibility that the archbishops of Canterbury led where the English episcopate followed. Speaking truth to power could thus be the mark of any true English bishop, a duty set out and reinforced by the example set at the

[180] Marsha L. Dutton, 'Sancto Dunstano Cooperante: Collaboration between King and Ecclesiastical Advisor in Aelred of Rievaulx's Genealogy of the Kings of the English', in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400. Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, ed. Janet Burton and Emilia Jamroziak (Turnhout, 2006), 183-196, especially 184-185, 188.
[181] Björn Weiler, 'Royal Virtue and Royal Justice in William of Malmesbury and Walter Map', in *Virtue and Ethics in the Twelfth Century*, ed. István P. Bejczy and Richard G. Newhauser (Leiden, 2005), 317-340.
[182] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 171 for examples.
[183] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 182; Mary Clayton, 'The Old English *Promissio Regis*', *Anglo-Saxon England* 37 (2008), 91-150.
[184] John R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament 924–1327* (Oxford, 2010), 34.
[185] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols. (Roll Series) (London, 1868–71), 3: 81-3.
[186] *English Coronation Records*, ed. and trans. L.G. Wickham Legg (Westminster, 1901), 43-46; On this topic see shortly Björn Weiler, *Becoming King: The Practice of Kingship in Europe, c. 950-1200* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

royal succession. At the same time, we should bear in mind that any inspiration provided by the coronation itself is a matter of conjecture: this is not a point made explicit by the *vitae*. In fact, the genre is surprisingly reticent about the moral oversight symbolised by the coronation. This may be purely chance: the English *vitae* contain no descriptions of the event. Lanfranc and Anselm did not officiate, for different reasons, and we lack biographies for Theobald of Bec, Baldwin of Forde, and Hubert Walter. While the right to crown the king was much contested, in the *vitae* at least, I suggest below that the archbishop's influence throughout the kingdom, proved just as important: moral oversight might manifest itself at coronations, but this was a far more widespread and important duty that was not tied to that event alone.

2. The enemies of an admonishing bishop at the royal court

Little attention has been paid to the opponents bishops encountered when exercising their moral oversight over kings. Examining them, and their characteristics, provides a further perspective from which to understand the perceived indispensability of moral instruction at the English royal court. The female persecutors of English bishops were presented as an inversion of the very values and duties for which prelates were most admired by their biographers. We will see that the prelate's duty to correct extended beyond the king to include the royal court itself. While this provided opportunities for more general admonition, and for the prelate to labour for the king's honour and benefit, it was also the source of both physical and moral danger. Nonetheless, the bishop's presence on this moral battleground was deemed essential. Mastery of this terrain brought with it the responsibility for the fate not only of the king, but of the realm itself. Indeed, the political and moral importance attributed to the royal court by many of the English authors will provide a vivid contrast with the lack of interest shown by their German counterparts.

Dunstan's career, in particular, highlighted the obstacles a bishop could face when attempting to correct both realm and king. In Eadmer's view, the youthful Eadwig lacked the mental vigour to govern, and so ignored the counsel of his elders in favour of young attendants and mistresses.[187] Rather than restraining his impulses, the latter encouraged the king to follow his desires and allowed wickedness to flourish.[188] Eadwig's oppression

[187] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 92-3.
[188] See also William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum,* 1: 227.

extended to disinheriting the nobility and, in a 'further most detestable crime', to attacking the former queen Eadgifu, who supported the Church, the oppressed, and was named by Eadmer as 'the mother of the entire English realm'.[189] Dunstan especially lamented that Eadwig scorned his rebukes like a madman, forcing the cleric to leave the royal court, 'not knowing what he ought to do about such a person'.[190] To Eadmer, the mother and daughter who held the king's ear were disfigured by a lust that offended the 'pure of mind'. They sought to marry the king by using 'their blandishments and seductive gestures'.[191] It should be noted that, during Dunstan's confrontation with Eadwig after the coronation feast (discussed above), the women received the most forceful and bitter rebukes. It was their reaction, not the king's, that was portrayed as violent.[192] One of the women, 'deeply shamed... could not tolerate this in a rational way and with fierce verbal abuse roused herself against Dunstan'.[193] When the Devil came to mock Dunstan afterwards, he did so 'in the manner of a wanton young girl'.[194]

Dunstan was not alone in facing opposition characterised in this manner. According to Eadmer's *Vita S. Oswaldi,* Oda of Canterbury sought to administer Christian laws as the 'father of the nation', but Eadwig, driven by lust, dishonoured him because 'he held men of virtue to be of little consequence and in contravention of what was right he provoked them'.[195] After Dunstan was expelled by the king, Oda became the 'public adversary of the king's evil deeds' and 'cleansed the kingdom of the notoriety of infamous women'.[196] Eadmer's *Vita S. Odonis*, in turn, portrayed the archbishop 'using his pontifical authority' to abduct one of the women from the palace, before branding and disfiguring her, and banishing her to Ireland. On her return, she was hamstrung and died shortly afterwards.[197] The violence Oda directed towards these women made him, for Eadmer, a 'supreme bishop', whose constancy, impartiality, and virtue merited divine favour and who acted as a 'unyielding opponent of every evil deed'.[198]

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[189] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani,* 92-3.
[190] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani,* 92-3.
[191] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani,* 96-7.
[192] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 96-99.
[193] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 96-99.
[194] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani,* 98-99. William of Malmesbury's versions of this account are discussed below.
[195] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Oswaldi,* in *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J Turner (Oxford, 2006), 220-221.
[196] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, 220-223.
[197] Eadmer, *Vita S. Odonis*, 28-29.
[198] Eadmer, *Vita S. Odonis*, 28-29.

When writing his *Vita Sancti Wilfridi* (the first version of which was completed before 1110, the second before 1116), Eadmer found evidence of how royal wrath against holy bishops had been provoked by a combination of diabolic and female influence. Although King Ecgfrith of Northumbria had hoped Wilfrid would assist him in his desire to break the vows of chastity made by his queen, the bishop instead took responsibility for her virtue to guard against the 'fickleness of the female mind'.[199] When Malmesbury discussed the same event, he pointed out that the chaste wife had employed 'her sound counsel' to keep the king and bishop on good terms.[200] As Eadmer's work demonstrated, this contrasted with the king's next queen, Ermenburg, who turned Ecgfrith against Wilfrid. Her fickle female mind, her intemperate, deceitful, and ostentatious behaviour, her receptivity to diabolic influence, and her oppressive and autocratic rule, forced the bishop to 'reprove her with bitter invective'.[201] Jealous, and offended by his reproofs,d jealous of him, Ermenburg sought to despoil Wilfrid's dignity by 'using a woman's eloquence' to inflame the king. She spoke with admiration of Wilfrid's worldly success, asked the king to compare the bishop's power to his own, and convinced him that 'it in no way enhances your honour to have anyone... as your equal in your own kingdom'. Disturbed by her counsel, Ecgfrith seized the bishop's possessions.[202] After Wilfrid's exile and then imprisonment, Ermenburg ripped a reliquary from his neck and 'derided him with a flood of female invective and humiliated him with her foul speech'.[203] The king, in the meantime, was left to indulge himself with his companions. The queen was eventually driven mad, by divine punishment, and the king's mother rebuked her, claiming she deserved it: because she had spurned Wilfrid's 'holy words', she had lost control of her own.[204] The mother reminded her son that his love for Ermenburg was excessive, that the queen deserved her fate, and that the king must submit to correction lest he incur even greater punishment. As Eadmer went on to show, Wilfrid's career would be beset by further encounters with the consequences of diabolic and female influence at court. As Eadmer summarised: 'just as he had suffered elsewhere, so too here he was afflicted by the angry outbursts of women who had been incited by the Devil'.[205] Eadmer's portrayal of both bishop and queen turned on their use of speech. The virtuous rebukes of Wilfrid (and the

[199] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 62-63.
[200] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 340-341.
[201] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 64-65.
[202] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 64-67.
[203] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 84-85.
[204] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 94-95.
[205] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 97-99.

chaste queen's 'smooth counsel') contrasted with the 'female invective' and 'foul speech' deployed by Ermenburg, whose ultimate punishment was to lose even that voice.

William of Malmesbury at one point suggested that this kind of encounter represented a peculiarly English tradition. Looking to the Carolingian court, his *Gesta Pontificum* recorded how Louis the Pious (r. as emperor 813-840) had honoured the English bishop of Utrecht, Frederick (r. 815/6 -834/8) by placing him at his right-hand during dinner. The emperor advised him that 'mindful of his recent profession and in pursuance of the firm line taken by his predecessors, he should speak the truth without respect of persons'.[206] Frederick replied that Louis was right to do so and asked him whether the fish on the table should be eaten from the head or the tail. The emperor fell straight into the trap by replying 'from the head' to which Frederick responded:

> 'so be it, Lord Augustus, so be it: let Christian faith and Christian piety have the confidence to chide you for your sins. The danger is that your subjects may venture to make light of what they see you have put up with without turning a hair.'

Frederick instructed Louis to give up his 'incestuous marriage' with Judith (d. 834), which had disgraced the royal bed with lust and set a poor example to his subjects.[207] After the couple's divorce, and their subsequent remarriage after penance, Louis forgave the bishop, but Judith, 'as women will, continued to emit her venom' and tried to have him assassinated. Malmesbury explained that he included the account

> 'from abroad, despite its irrelevance to my theme, in order to give the English the credit for bringing lustre to foreign lands; holiness too travels abroad.'[208]

It is striking that the holiness, associated by Malmesbury with the English, manifested itself through the prelate's firm criticism of a ruler's sexual misconduct and his subsequent resistance to the persecution of a sinful queen.[209]

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[206] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 14-15.
[207] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 14-17.
[208] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 16-19.
[209] See, for a discussion of this phenomena in a different context, Mayke de Jong, 'Queens and Beauty in the Early Medieval West: Balthild, Theodelinda, Judith', in *Agire da donna: Modelli e pratiche di rappresentazione (secoli VI-X) ; Atti del convegno* (Turnhout, 2007), 235-248; Mayke de Jong, 'Bride Shows Revisited: Praise, Slander and Exegesis in the Reign of the Empress Judith', *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300-900* (Cambridge, 2004), 257-277.

The female persecutors of the English episcopate, regarded in the *vitae* as latter-day Jezebels, represented an inversion of the admonishing bishop. They encouraged, rather than restrained, kings, their female invective characterised as seductive blandishments by contrast to forceful episcopal rebukes. The only women related to kings who are praised in the *vitae* are their mothers who, as allies of the saint, try to protect the realm or themselves rebuke royal excess. Both Ermenburg and Ælfgifu also appealed directly to royal honour when turning the king against his bishop, a point to which we shall return.

The dangers of the royal court did not only come from such figures. William of Malmesbury, drawing on Adelard's earlier *lectiones,* noted that Dunstan's early success at Æthelstan's court had aroused the jealousy of relatives who then sought to destroy his reputation.[210] Under Edmund (r. 939-946), Dunstan's 'austere approach', and commitment to justice, angered the nobility who convinced the king to abandon his friend.[211] The nobles had thus deprived England of what Malmesbury called 'its brightest star'.[212] Similarly, when Wilfrid had returned to Ecgfrith's court, he had been imprisoned by 'subversive men', who, like Ermenburg, strengthened the king's obstinacy and poured poison into his ears. Ecgfrith, blinded by anger and this 'seductive adulation', had accused Wilfrid of being 'a most wicked subversive'.[213] The nobles, stirred up by the king's indignation, attempted to please the king by slandering and imprisoning the bishop.

For some authors, malicious courtiers, incited by the Devil, were not only part of the Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian past, but also a contemporary reality. Eadmer thought that Anselm and Rufus had spent three days pleasantly at the royal court. The breach only occurred once Rufus demanded money under the influence of the Devil and evil men.[214] Both Eadmer and Malmesbury blamed the conflicts between Anselm, Rufus, and Henry I on malicious counsel.[215] John of Salisbury pointed out that those who harmed Anselm did so, like the nobles at Ecgfrith's court, 'seemed to have rendered a service most pleasing to the king'.[216] We have seen that Henry II's knight had thought something similar when he had insulted Roger of Worcester in a misguided attempt to gain royal favour. John suggested that

[210] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 180-183, cf. 161.
[211] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 198-199.
[212] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 198-201;
[213] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 84-85.
[214] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 67.
[215] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 190; Staunton, *Becket and His Biographer*, 115 who provides examples from Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, 3, 12, 43, 131, 134, 178, 191-192.
[216] John of Salisbury, *Lives*, 41; John of Salisbury, *Vita St Anselmi*, col. 1023: 'gratissimum regi videbatur officium praestitisse'.

Becket had been appointed chancellor partly because Theobald feared that the king, on his succession to the throne, was particularly susceptible to foolish, malicious, and young advisors. If Henry had the potential to become another Eadwig, he needed another Dunstan: Theobald hoped that Becket would prevent the king from acting insolently, restrict his violent impulses towards the Church, and dissuade him from behaving as a conqueror towards his subjects. The chancellor was thus appointed with the hope that his 'help and care... might restrain the new king's impulses, to prevent him from attacking the Church'.[217] John explained that the moral dangers of the court had nearly overwhelmed Becket, even making him suicidal. He only stayed, John insisted, to work for the 'safety and honour' of the king and Church.[218] While doing so, Becket struggled daily against the king, his deceptions, and the 'beasts of the court', including depraved and obstinate royal officials.[219] The Devil recognised that Becket, like Dunstan and Wilfrid, would defend and benefit the Church, and therefore sowed discord among the king and courtiers.[220] The archbishop's pursuit of justice, like that of his predecessors, was misrepresented as ambition and a threat to the royal dignity: the king's advisors claimed Henry would eventually rule only at the archbishop's pleasure.[221] The royal court provided an opportunity for Becket to enhance the honour of king, realm, and Church, but in the eyes of his biographers, the court was good for little else and more often a source of both moral and physical threat.

Bishops thus had to correct kings whose susceptibility to malicious counsel was only made worse by their youth. They could expect resistance, and even expulsion from court, by nobles and courtiers who feared their austerity, commitment to justice, and correction. The undue influence of courtiers, like that of sinful women, blinded the king to the truth. This provided a means for the *vitae* to ascribe royal failings to another cause, but also points to the fact that the fundamental crime of these antagonists was that they sought to silence the one true source of virtuous counsel. The bishop's duty to correct must extend not only to those

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[217] *MTB* 2: 304: '...ecclesiam, impetum cohiberet, et consilii sui temperaret malitiam, et reprimeret audaciam officialium, qui sub obtentu publicae potestatis et praetextu juris tam ecclesiae quam provincialium facultates diripere conspiraverant'.
[218] Quote missing.
[219] John of Salisbury, *Lives*, 77; *MTB* 2: 305: 'bestias curiae' John likened him to Proteus, in this regard, the sea-god who changed his shape at will.
[220] John of Salisbury, *Lives*, 77; 81-82; *MTB* 2: 305, 309-311.
[221] John of Salisbury, *Lives*, 82-83; *MTB*, 1: 12, 2: 309-310, 3: 41-42, 250-251; Staunton, *Becket and His Biographer*, 114-115 provides further examples from Eddius Stephanus and Gregory VII's letters. William of Canterbury also cited widespread concern regarding the influence of evil counsellors on Henry when he became king, with Thomas warning the king that the envious would stir up trouble between them if he became archbishop.

around the king, but across the royal court, an environment in which royal favour was thought to be obtained by slandering or expelling those who restrained the king's impulses.

These opponents were often joined by 'false brothers' from the episcopate, who had neglected their duty to correct. Their portrayal was interwoven with the broader characterisation of the bishop acting as a martyr in the face of royal power. Resisting royal threats marked out a bishop's virtue: a true prelate corrected the king even when betrayed by his episcopal colleagues.[222] In Malmesbury's account, Frederick of Utrecht's criticism of Louis had especially offended the emperor's episcopate who had failed to condemn the marriage themselves. Indeed, William claimed that they only forced Louis to divorce Judith at Frederick's instigation.[223] Biographers of Anselm and Becket made much of the resistance of the wider English episcopate to their subjects' correction of the king. At Rockingham (1095), Eadmer noted that it was 'above all the bishops' who stuck to Rufus's side without regard for justice. They 'raised a loud clamour that he [Anselm] was blaspheming against the king, simply because in his kingdom and without his consent [Rufus's] he had dared to ascribe anything even to God'. At one word 'of royal indignation', the 'wretches, with the exception of Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, renounced 'all brotherly intercourse with him'.[224] As Staunton pointed out, those bishops who urged Anselm to purchase royal favour were compared by Eadmer to the persecutors of Christ himself: Judas, Herod, and Pilate. They were dismissed by the archbishop for their lack of holiness and for preferring the king's will to that of God.[225] Worse followed, according to William of Malmesbury, after Anselm's death, when Henry I's spirit 'fierce and uncontrolled... was further goaded on by bishops [who] should have stood in the way'. This fact led William to lament bitterly that no hope remained and that each man should look to himself. The episcopate's failure to safeguard their archbishop's posthumous reputation, and to restrain the king, merited a rare and emotional outcry.[226]

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[222] Timothy Reuter even identified royal bullying at assemblies as a rule of political conduct specific to England: Reuter, 'Symbolic Acts', 181-2.
[223] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 16-17 specifically 'They found it painful to think of the *candour* [my emphasis] with which a new bishop had brought into the open a matter which they, bishops of long standing, had not condemned even in their hearts'.
[224] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 86.
[225] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographer*, 117 n. 104. Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 86; Eadmer, *Historia* Novorum, 50-1, 56, 65, 82-3, 140; Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 146 n. 3 points out that eight of thirteen of Anselm's colleagues had, indeed, been royal chaplains, with three having been heads of the royal administration.
[226] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 188-189.

In the 1160s, as in 1095, the bishops had their own complaints at being forced to choose between primate and king.[227] Herbert of Bosham noted Becket's caution in ordaining new bishops: like the archbishop himself, the biographer argued they had been promoted by the king to help him control the Church.[228] Herbert further believed that Becket never lost his love for Henry because he judged the king to have been driven to tyranny by false friends.[229] Gilbert Foliot, Becket's chief ecclesiastical rival, was compared to Achitophel, who had conspired with Absalom against King David.[230] Herbert thought that saints, in general, were built up by the injuries of their false brothers, while Edward Grim noted that Arnulf of Lisieux (c. 1104/1109-1184) had advised Henry to divide the English episcopate from Becket.[231] For Herbert, these bishops were latter-day Pharisees and High Priests while Henry was influenced by courtiers comparable to biblical gnats, bees, and scorpions.[232] Guernes claimed that the episcopate were weak and foolish, undeserving of the name of bishop, because they did not offer correction. They were hirelings, not true shepherds, and Henry would one day hate them for having led him astray.[233] John of Salisbury struck a more sympathetic tone, acknowledging the bishops were right to fear the king. According to John, Becket himself was anxious for their welfare, given the king's hatred, and he justified the concessions at Clarendon in these terms.[234] In FitzStephen's account, when the bishops visited Becket during the trial at Northampton, Robert of Lincoln (r. 1148-1166) wept, while the bishop of Chichester blamed Becket for having placed his colleagues between a hammer and an anvil.[235] While these episodes, for the most part, emphasised the archbishop's moral authority to the detriment of his fellow bishops, we find occasional signs of sympathy for the dilemmas the latter faced when confronted by royal tyranny.

The episodes examined here provide a further explanation as to why these authors considered the presence of admonishing bishops at the royal court such a fundamental

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[227] Barlow, *Becket*, 111 points out that many urged Becket to submit to Henry's will, hoping 'this humiliation would satisfy the tyrant'.
[228] Staunton, Becket and His Biographer, 117.
[229] Barlow, *Becket*, 127 n. 19; *MTB*, 3: 370.
[230] Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London, 2004), 119; Staunton, *Becket and His Biographer*, 116-117.
[231] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographer*, 115-116; *MTB* 3: 275, 277, 308, 323.
[232] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographer*, 118-20, 133 n. 45; *MTB* 4: 203-204. The anonymous *Summa Causae*, reflecting arguments made during Becket's exile, notes that the bishops invoke the evil of the times to restrain Becket, dismissing any danger to church liberties. Becket responds that there were moments, Henry's enforcement of the royal customs being one, when bishops must confront their kings
[233] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographer*, 119-120; Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, *La Vie de Saint Thomas Becket*, ed. E. Walberg (Paris, 1936), v. 1191-1210.
[234] John of Salisbury, *Lives*, 84; *MTB* 2: 311-312.
[235] *MTB* 3: 68.

necessity. Without episcopal oversight, the king would be even more vulnerable to the seduction of those who sought not only to encourage sinful royal behaviour, but played up suggestions that bishops aimed to diminish the king's honour and dignity. These opponents incited hatred in the king's heart by misrepresenting episcopal zeal: rulers were rarely portrayed as irredeemable from the start. The public nature of a bishop's correction served to embarrass the 'false brothers' who had failed in their episcopal office by neglecting to do the same. A true English bishop resisted royal power, and criticised freely, even when less worthy contemporaries had been silenced. These encounters appear highly formulaic and, it should be pointed out, derive from a relatively small number of authors. Nonetheless, the sheer repetition of these themes, from seventh-century Mercia to ninth-century Francia to the twelfth-century Angevin court, is instructive. They reflect not only the importance attached to the moral oversight of kings, but also the treacherous, competitive, and dangerous environment of the royal court in which it took place. Mastery of this terrain brought with it command, not only of the king's soul, but the morality and prosperity of the realm itself, as we shall see in our next section.

3. Familiarity, friendship, and the benefits of episcopal counsel

The ideal partnership between king and bishop extended well beyond admonition. Whether episcopal censure was accepted depended in no small part on the degree of trust, friendship, and familiarity already established between the bishop and the king. Unsurprisingly, episcopal biographers stressed the *Königsnähe* of their subjects as a mark of prestige in its own right, and as a demonstration that episcopal counsel was heeded. In this section, we move beyond the subject of admonition and criticism to consider the broader benefits that, according to the *vitae*, accrued from episcopal counsel to kings in addition to the more fundamental role attributed to them in governing the realm.

The partnership between Dunstan and Edgar was regarded by twelfth-century authors as a golden age of royal-episcopal co-operation. Malmesbury thought that Dunstan's influence had benefited the entire kingdom. Because Edgar obeyed the archbishop's guidance and correction in all matters, the bishop shaped the king's character into a 'mirror for his subjects'.[236] William thought the nobility, seeing 'how subject their own lord was to Dunstan', adapted their own behaviour in response, with the lower orders, in turn, doing the

[236] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 35-37.

same. Military discipline was preserved, capital penalties decreed for thieves and counterfeiters, while monasticism flourished under godly men jointly promoted by Dunstan and Edgar. This royal-episcopal partnership brought about a secure peace, improved social relations, and even good weather and plentiful harvests. Malmesbury made clear that this exceptional national prosperity 'started with Dunstan, from Dunstan it proceeded to Edgar, and from Edgar it sprouted to benefit the people'. According to William, Dunstan was made famous, not by his miracles, but by the fact that the king had been 'anxious to follow his archbishop's dictates'.[237] In this regard, Dunstan provided a useful benchmark by which to evaluate later archbishops. Malmesbury praised Lanfranc for continuing what Dunstan and his colleagues had begun under King Edgar, but argued that the comparison was not entirely fair. The prelates of Dunstan's day 'were masters of all England, the king smiled on them, and it was simple for them to do what they liked'.[238] Lanfranc, by contrast, 'carried his point alone and in the face of widespread opposition', even if he received relatively few snubs from the Conqueror who, 'not very polite to others, was friendly and pleasant to him'.[239] William thus looked back to a golden age, in which the king's acceptance of episcopal counsel had created national prosperity, but recognised bishops closer to his own time were forced to work towards the same goals within far greater constraints.

While William went the furthest in describing the prosperity of Edgar's reign, he was far from the only writer to do so. According to Goscelin of St Bertin's *Life* of St Withburh (d. 743), the English had never seen a better time than the reign of Edgar, with more saints appearing under his rule than at any time since the days of St Augustine of Canterbury (r. 601-604).[240] Across several *vitae*, Eadmer praised Edgar's righteousness and the just peace he created after the chaos of Eadwig's reign.[241] Eadmer opened the *Historia Novorum* by recalling how this partnership combined Edgar's courage and diligent governance with the counsel provided by Dunstan, with the latter described as directing the realm through

[237] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 37.
[238] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 106-107.
[239] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 106-107.
[240] Goscelin of St Bertin, *The Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely*, ed. and trans. Rosalind C. Love (Oxford, 2004), 66-69. Elsewhere Goseclin claimed that Edgar directed the affairs of the English with peace and justice and only appointed those whom Dunstan 'the father of the English' judged worthy. Rosalind C. Love, 'The Life of St Wulfsige of Sherborne by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: A New Translation with Introduction, Appendix and Notes', in *St Wulfsige and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Millennium of the Benedictine Abbey*, ed. Katherine Barker, David A Hinton and Alan Hunt (Oxford, 2005), 98-128, at 105.
[241] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis*, 28-9; Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 102-105 claimed that God had returned Dunstan to the English and inspired a rebellion against Eadwig.

Christian laws.[242] This archetype of royal-episcopal co-operation was both widely recognised and regarded as a benchmark for, and preface to, Anglo-Norman history.

The authors of the Dunstan *vitae* noted the benefits of the archbishop's familiarity with less famous kings. Eadmer and Malmesbury explained that Dunstan not only provided the young King Edmund with counsel, but had also settled the business of the kingdom, brought about peace, and resolved disputes, with both king and nobility following Dunstan's orders. Dunstan governed the kingdom and executed justice on the king's behalf because, according to Malmesbury, Edmund thought it 'senseless not to share his new power' with his old friend. Dunstan further lectured the king, the nobility, and the lower orders on the importance of justice.[243] Crucial to Dunstan's decision to serve was his desire to 'look after the interests of the kingdom of the English' at a time 'when justice had long been under threat'. He thus hoped 'to bring the tottering land back to its former state'.[244] Eadmer also highlighted Dunstan's familiarity with Ealdred.[245] When offered the bishopric of Winchester, Dunstan felt it sacrilegious to distance himself from the severely-ill king who had 'placed his entire person, his entire kingdom, under his [Dunstan's] prudent management'.[246] Malmesbury noted that Ealdred put Dunstan in charge of both himself and the kingdom, hoping the latter's devotion would cure his sickness just as his wisdom would rule the realm.[247] This familiarity enabled Dunstan to correct the kingdom and enact justice, but he ascribed any success to Ealdred's good will and piety.[248] Dunstan's influence over kings thus extended to a say in the realm's governance, the prelate made responsible for exercising royal authority, correcting sin, and executing royal justice.

While the extent of Dunstan's authority was unusual, other Anglo-Saxon prelates were characterised in similar terms. According to Eadmer, Oda of Canterbury's reputation gained him a place at Edward the Elder's court.[249] Æthelstan, recognising Oda was a true servant of God, included him among his friends and made him alone 'privy to his secrets'.[250] In the reign of Ealdred, the archbishop 'pre-eminent in his authority and modesty', used

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[242] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 3.
[243] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 198-199; See also Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 58-59, 78-79; *Vita Sancti Odonis*, 16-17.
[244] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 198-199
[245] B, *Vita Dunstani*, 61; Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis*, 20-21; Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 86-91, 144-145; William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 215-217.
[246] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 86-87.
[247] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 214-215.
[248] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 216-217.
[249] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis*, 10-11.
[250] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis*, 10-11.

Christian law to 'elevate the entire kingdom in a most prudent fashion'.[251] King Edmund had also listened to his friends, Oda among them, 'in matters which a Christian king ought to be concerned'.[252] Looking back two centuries earlier, Eadmer similarly traced the benefits of Wilfrid's reputation for sanctity, prudence, eloquence, and learning at royal courts, characterising the bishop as living in an age in which England shone with the 'twofold splendour' of Christian kings and zealous bishops.[253] Wilfrid, as 'the pinnacle of the priesthood', ensured that the people lived in peace, enjoyed their legal rights, were devoted to God, and feared neither war nor crime.[254] William of Malmesbury claimed that Oda was friends with Edmund and Eadred because neither required stern reproofs.[255] In the *Gesta Pontificum*, William included a further Anglo-Saxon example, in which a prelate provided instruction in the principles of good rulership. St Swithun, as we saw in the last chapter, had attracted the attention of King Ecgberht who followed his advice and had him tutor his son Althulf. Under Swithun, the youth learned how 'to take over the tiller of the state', William citing Plato's 'old and much praised opinion' that states were best ruled by philosopher-kings.[256] The king subsequently looked up to the bishop as both a father and teacher. As with Dunstan and Edgar, 'what the one began particularly by his personal advice, the other pressed home': the combination of king and episcopal counsel provided the foundation for the realm's happiness.[257]

In these accounts, the influence of episcopal counsel, and the presence of virtuous bishops at royal courts, had a tangible effect on the realm's prosperity in social, military, economic, agricultural, as well as political and spiritual, terms. We saw in chapter 1 that this connection between a ruler's behaviour, restrained by virtuous counsel, and the realm's prosperity, had biblical and classical precedents. It was reinforced by the influence of the Pseudo-Cyprian tract, with episcopal influence over the kingdom especially emphasised in late Anglo-Saxon England. While this model might be thought commonplace, as noted above, Blattmann suggested that the link had disappeared by the High Middle Ages. What is striking is that while this argument may hold true of twelfth-century Germany, in England the relationship receives, if anything, renewed attention in the *vitae*. The golden age represented

[251] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis*, 20-23.
[252] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis*, 16-17.
[253] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 26-27, 42-43, 54-55.
[254] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 54-55, 70-75, 100-101, 110-111, 132-133.
[255] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 128-129.
[256] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 254-255.
[257] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 254-255.

by Edgar and Dunstan's partnership provided a particularly popular blueprint, but one that did not simply repeat earlier accounts. On the contrary, William of Malmesbury in particular went well beyond his sources. In a manner reminiscent of the Carolingian period, the English *vitae* assert that bishops shaped the character of kings into a mirror for their subjects. Prosperity began with the bishop, but the ruler provided a means for it to spread to every section of society. Bishops furthermore took on what might be regarded as royal responsibilities: they oversaw royal justice and governed the realm through Christian laws. Kings were praised for their affability, and devotion, but above all it was their receptiveness to episcopal counsel that mattered.

Such partnerships were not the preserve of a distant golden age. According to Malmesbury, Harold Godwinson was one among many nobles who treasured the safety and aid afforded by his friendship with Wulfstan of Worcester.[258] Harold so valued their discussions that he would travel thirty miles out of his way to unload his anxieties upon the saint, who heard his confession and mediated his prayers to God. When Harold became king, this support became politically significant: the Northumbrians 'unconquerable in war... made no difficulty about giving way to Harold's rule out of respect for the bishop'.[259] After the Norman Conquest, Wulfstan's holiness continued to command respect, with the Conqueror venerating him as a father.[260] According to Eadmer, Lanfranc too had the king's ear as his principal advisor and, like Dunstan, sought to renew the realm's moral and spiritual health. His teachings increased religion throughout the kingdom, while his tact and perseverance saw the king restore lands to Canterbury.[261] In Anselm's company, the Conqueror dropped his usual brusqueness, becoming so gracious and affable that he seemed to be a different person. Although Lanfranc and Anselm were esteemed for their wisdom, it was only in matters relating to their province that the king was said to have sought their counsel. Their influence moderated the king's usual severity towards others, but was otherwise largely restricted to ecclesiastical affairs.[262] John of Salisbury later exaggerated that influence into subordination: the Conqueror was feared by all, he claimed, but was subject to Anselm (then still abbot of Bec).[263] Malmesbury similarly dwelt on the importance of Anselm's counsel. Having

[258] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, in *Saints' Lives. Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 34-35.
[259] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, 56-57.
[260] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, 60-61.
[261] Eadmer, *History of Recent Events in England*, 12-13; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 12.
[262] Eadmer, *History of Recent Events in England*, 23; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 23.
[263] John of Salisbury, *Lives*, 36-37; John of Salisbury, *Vita St Anselmi*, col. 1020.

explained that Henry I listened to Anselm's advice, and corrected vices within the Church, William reflected on 'the store of good that was present in the king's heart' but that, crucially, his virtue needed to be activated by 'kindling words... and wholesome exhortations'. The *B* version was more candid: if Anselm had lived longer, Henry 'would never have plunged into such a mire of disgrace'.[264]

Similar claims were made by a monk of Rochester in relation to not only the Conqueror, but, more strikingly, Rufus as well. While the *Vita Gundulfi* recognised that Rufus was held in little affection, the king still esteemed Gundulf above his fellow bishops because of his religious devotion, sparing him and Rochester from his oppression of the Church, and even providing the bishop with two new manors.[265] As we saw in the last chapter, Gundulf's influence at court and in the wider realm made him a valued intercessor, recognised by all as their superior and father. When Becket had still enjoyed Henry II's friendship, his influence over the king provided a means through which the chancellor could protect the Church even before his elevation to the episcopate.[266] Hugh of Lincoln's reputation for holiness, like that of Dunstan, Anselm, Gundulf, and Wulfstan, had quickly gained royal recognition. According to Gerald of Wales, Henry II often visited and listened to the prior and Hugh accomplished much for his community because the king enjoyed his company.[267] Adam of Eynsham argued that there were few, perhaps none, in the kingdom with whom Henry's soul found such peace. Nor was there anyone, of any rank, whom Henry obeyed more promptly concerning the welfare of his soul.[268] Henry made Hugh such a close intimate that he was even believed to be the king's son. Adam attributed the favour to Hugh's grace and spirit, his devotion to God, and Henry's own love of holy men.[269] The king consulted Hugh on all matters relating to the Church, the peace of the realm, and the welfare of both his subjects and his own soul. They discussed 'temporal business' as little as possible, with Hugh imploring Henry only to love spiritual matters. Adam concluded that it would take too long to mention how often Hugh's influence resulted in royal almsgiving and the transformation of the king's wrath into clemency.[270]

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[264] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 184-185.
[265] *The Life of Gundulf Bishop of Rochester*, ed. Rodney Thomson (Toronto, 1977), 49-50.
[266] *MTB* 3:25-26 on Becket's advice, the king did not allow lengthy church vacancies, favoured the church of Merton and sponsored poor Englishmen who were masters of schools or regular clergy.
[267] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*,12-13, 22-23.
[268] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 68.
[269] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 69.
[270] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 69-70.

Episcopal counsel and influence thus mattered for several reasons, but we can also detect an important, albeit gradual and inconsistent, restriction in the remit of an ecclesiastical advisor. By their friendship with kings, bishops gained important benefits, or exemptions, for the religious communities they governed. More importantly, though, their exhortations could prompt moral and religious renewal on a national scale. Just the presence of an episcopal advisor was said to transform a king's character by restraining his usual severity. Episcopal collaboration with kings was thought, at times, to extend well beyond admonition to include participation in the exercise of royal justice and royal government itself. The *vitae* of Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Angevin bishops highlighted the royal court as an entry-point, claiming that kings valued the reputation and presence of holy men, and their personal and pastoral support. The connection between episcopal counsel and the realm's fortunes, a link which ran through the person of the king himself, was one which continued to attract considerable attention from several twelfth-century biographers. At the same time, we can detect several qualifiers as to the remit of these bishops when the authors turned to their own period. Compared to Dunstan's pervasive influence, the role of Lanfranc, Anselm, and Hugh of Lincoln appears more restricted. The pattern should not be overstressed, however, and Dunstan's image matters in part for providing a sense of what twelfth-century religious communities considered to be an ideal status quo ante. Indeed, these authors did not simply think the English episcopate had retained a substantial influence. They even sought to characterise kings as dependent on episcopal favour for their very survival.

4. Royal dependency, respect, and concessions

The influence of the episcopate over kings further manifested itself through their ability to intimidate kings, to command their respect, and to extract concessions at moments of crisis. Good rulers would heed episcopal advice, but even the sinful ones might be restrained by their fear of the supernatural power of saints in heaven and the temporal authority of bishops on earth. While the promises made by kings to improve their behaviour often proved short-lived, episcopal attempts to enforce those commitments nonetheless provided a further illustration, to their biographers, of how the duty of moral oversight played out in practice.

The withdrawal of episcopal support often heralded disaster. Eadmer highlighted the misfortunes visited upon kings who disregarded Wilfrid. When insulted and banished from Ecgfrith's court, Wilfrid predicted that the king's joy would soon turn to grief. Soon

afterwards, Ecgfrith's brother was killed in battle and the royal court plunged into 'great and unbearable grief'.[271] Whereas kings achieved military victories with Wilfrid's support (as we saw in chapter two), after his departure there was 'no reason left why they ought not to be defeated far and wide'.[272] In Eadmer's view, Ecgfrith and much of his army deserved to die for having spurned the bishop.[273] This pattern of royal disregard meriting death, destruction, and rebellion, was traced by Eadmer throughout Wilfrid's career.[274]

William of Malmesbury provided examples to demonstrate that kings should fear the deadly force wielded by saints and their ruthless punishments of royal sins. Such incidents were part of local, even topographical, history. Royal tax-collectors, 'rampant elsewhere and making no distinction between right and wrong', became supplicants before St Edmund's ditch.[275] It had been built, William thought, by Cnut (r. 1016-1035) after he 'learned what was right by the pitiful end of his father'.[276] As noted above, Swein Forkbeard had laid waste to St Edmund's territory, but was 'gently admonished by the martyr in a dream'.[277] When Swein scorned him, however, the saint killed him with a blow from his pike. Cnut was praised for 'showing the spirit of a true king' by building the ditch and enriching St Edmund's abbey, allowing it look down on other communities.[278] Cnut was not always portrayed in such a positive light. At Wilton, 'this vicious man, an especial slave to lust, and more tyrant than king... belched out taunts... with the uncouthness characteristic of a barbarian' at the tomb of King Edgar's saintly daughter, Eadgyth (c. 963-986). When Archbishop Æthelnoth (r. 1020-1038) 'spoke up against him', Cnut grew more excited and ordered the grave to be opened. The saint then launched herself at the king, causing Cnut to nearly die of shock. While the king was overjoyed to have survived the ordeal, William concluded that the saint's feast day was kept in many parts of England because of the encounter.[279] The episode provided a further illustration of both saintly and archiepiscopal admonition of a sinful and tyrannical king, demonstrating not only the wrath faced by

[271] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 68-69. William of Malmesbury repeated the story, specifying how the Northumbrians lamenting the 'absence of their one-time counsellor': William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 340-341.
[272] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 68-69.
[273] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 106-107.
[274] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 130-133.
[275] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 246-247.
[276] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 246-247.
[277] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 246-247.
[278] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 246-247.
[279] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 300-301.

disrespectful kings, but also that such encounters were thought to build up a saint's reputation.

That prelates inspired terror was a widespread theme. According to his *vita,* 'no king ruled England who did not fear to offend' Gundulf of Rochester.[280] William of Newburgh even claimed that Archbishop Ealdred of York (r. 1060-1069) ruled the Conqueror through fear. After resisting one of his requests, the king had been forced to prostrate himself before the furious archbishop. When urged by the court to lift up the king, Ealdred simply responded that William had laid down before St Peter.[281] Dramatic claims of not only royal dependency, but also royal subordination, were made often by these authors and attributed to the episcopate as a whole: no archbishop of Canterbury, not even Dunstan, enjoyed quite so fearsome a reputation.

Fear went hand-in-hand with respect. The latter could be mutual and bishops often showed great respect for the royal office, if not always the occupant. Adam of Eynsham described Hugh's great sorrow at the news of Richard's death, even though he received the news while harassed by royal counsellors. When warned of the dangers of travelling during the resulting disorder in the realm, Hugh replied that it was a worse fate to be considered a coward who had denied the honour and homage owed at the funeral of his former king.[282] When Hugh himself lay dying, he urged his canons not to delay their meeting with King John, performing a final service for his Church by ensuring they paid the king due honour.[283] More often, however, the *vitae* judged kings by the deference they paid to the Church. Royal involvement in translations and funerals reflected well on the prestige of ruler and bishop. Adam of Eynsham, when comparing the funerals of Hugh and St Martin, claimed that God had compensated the lack of monks at the former with 'the presence of persons of higher rank', including two kings.[284] Adam not only described the funeral twice, but further claimed that the bearers, including John, thought that their service to the deceased bishop would grant them admission to Heaven.[285] Gerald of Wales similarly noted that the royal presence made

[280] *Life of Gundulf*, 49.
[281] William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum,* in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, 4 vols., (London, 1882-1886), 1: 20-21.
[282] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 135. He would return Richard's 'unsolicited acts of kindness' regardless of the danger.
[283] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln,* 37.
[284] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 207, 225.
[285] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 2: 225-228.

the funeral an occasion for peace-making and royal largesse: abbots, who had arrived fearing further taxation, were overjoyed when John used the occasion to found Beaulieu Abbey.[286]

Osbern, in his late eleventh-century description of the translation of St Ælfheah, archbishop of Canterbury (r. 1006-1012), from London to Canterbury, stressed not only royal participation, but prefaced his account by connecting the archbishop's favour to Cnut's military success. Even though Cnut had punished Ælfheah's murderers, the king recognised that he still lacked God's favour: on several occasions, he had suffered military defeats that had nearly forced a surrender to the English.[287] According to Osbern, his wisest English advisors repeated to Cnut a prophecy made by Ælfheah when he had been tortured 'by *your* forefathers', namely that the king's people would never retain the kingdom.[288] To appease the saint, he should transfer his relics to Canterbury. Cnut's agreement immediately brought about peace, securing his hold on the kingdom.[289] When commanded by archbishop Æthelnoth to declare his wishes at St Paul's church in London, Cnut, who had been bathing, went immediately, with just a cloak wrapped around his body and plain sandals on his feet. He embraced and kissed the archbishop, crying with joy that the day had finally arrived.[290] To remove a stone which blocked the entrance to the saint's tomb, Cnut acted as a door-keeper while the archbishop prostrated himself in prayer. The monks, one of whom was a witness for Osbern, miraculously opened the tomb.[291] Cnut, reacting with joy at the body's lack of decay, named Ælfheah as his holy father and asked him to pity 'this sinner of a king'. He begged the saint not to condemn him for the crimes of his relatives, but to act instead as his advocate.[292] Cnut then led the procession to Canterbury before asking the archbishop to beg the saint to bless him with more favourable times.[293] Canterbury's authority was made clear in the royal respect commanded by both the saint and his successor Æthelnoth, a deference reflected in the king's prominent role in the translation, an act which itself sought to secure the saint's support, not least in the fortunes of war.

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[286] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln* , 41.
[287] Osbern, 'Translation of St Ælfheah', ed. and trans. Rosemary Morris and Alexander Rumble in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark, and Norway,* ed. Alexander Rumble (London, 1994), 283-315, at 299.
[288] Osbern, 'Translation of St Ælfheah', 300-301. Osbern had also written in his *Passio* on Ælfheah that the saint had prophesied the downfall of his captors.
[289] Osbern, 'Translation of St Ælfheah', 300-301.
[290] Osbern, 'Translation of St Ælfheah', 300-301.
[291] Osbern, 'Translation of St Ælfheah', 304-305.
[292] Osbern, 'Translation of St Ælfheah', 306-307.
[293] Osbern, 'Translation of St Ælfheah', 308-309, 314-315.

Sinful rulers, by contrast, were notable for their lack of respect. When Rufus recovered from his illness, Eadmer reported that Gundulf 'in friendly conversation' urged him to live more in accordance with God's will. Rufus retorted that God 'will never find me become good in return for the evil he has done to me'.[294] Uniquely, Rufus even claimed that he would become archbishop himself.[295] By obstructing the conversion of Jews, scoffing at God's intervention in a trial by ordeal, and by refusing to call upon any saint for assistance, Rufus demonstrated his contempt for God and Church.[296] According to William of Malmesbury, in direct contrast to kings who desperately sought saintly intervention, Rufus declared

> 'none of the saints can help us, often remarking provocatively: "Of course those long dead are concerned to interfere in our affairs!"'[297]

Adam of Eynsham's portrayal of John similarly centred on the king's inability to behave correctly in relation to the Church. Although John gave early signs of promise, he then, while 'speaking confidentially' with Hugh of Lincoln, showed the bishop an ancestral heirloom, which he claimed would enlist God's aid and protect his domains. Hugh warned John to trust in Christ, not an inanimate stone.[298] When John and Hugh came across a tympanum, showing the Last Judgement and the separation of the elect from the damned, Hugh reminded John to dwell on those rulers condemned to Hell: they provided a warning of the fate of kings who had refused to correct themselves. Adam lamented that John, in the fourteen years since that day, had 'forgotten what he saw, heard, and promised'. For Adam, the king's wicked behaviour could not be changed by the censures of the Church or even 'the complete loss of his temporal power'.[299] The misfortunes of John's reign could thus be traced to the king's failure to heed Hugh's counsel and to stand by his own promises of good behaviour.

While John initially responded to Hugh's admonition with a 'parade of meekness and humility', even this did not last.[300] At Easter, when John was meant to offer 'the customary

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[294] Eadmer, *History of Recent Events in England*, 40; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 39 'familiari affatu moneret... nunquam me Deus bonum habebit pro malo quod mihi intulerit.'; See also William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 124-125.
[295] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 118-119.
[296] Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm*, 111; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 99-102; John Gillingham, *William II: The Red King* (London, 2015), 45-47; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 164-167.
[297] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 162-163.
[298] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 139-140; Paul Webster, *King John and Religion* (Woodbridge, 2015), 14, 20-21, 113, 116, 122.
[299] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 141.
[300] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 142.

oblation of kings', he instead played around with the money, wishing he had pocketed it. Hugh, outraged and ashamed, refused to touch the donation, and commanded John to withdraw.[301] In Adam's view, Hugh had followed God's example by rejecting Cain and his gifts when he 'rightly rebuked the donor'.[302] Hugh then preached 'on the character of good and bad rulers, and their future reward', but John, disliking the theme and length of the sermon, repeatedly asked Hugh to wind up so that he could eat after a long fast.[303] According to Adam, John not only rejected the sacrament that Easter, but also on his coronation day, and, according to his intimates, at all times since his youth. John's unsuitability to rule thus manifested itself, publicly and dramatically, at important ritualised occasions. During his installation as duke of Normandy, on the Octave of Easter at Rouen during the celebration of High Mass, John, hearing the 'childish laughter of his former youthful companions, and his attention being very little absorbed in the rite, turned around out of levity', dropping the lance to the ground. In response, 'almost the whole assembly' declared the accident a bad portent. In Adam's view, they were right to do so. John's 'wanton inertia' had subsequently lost Normandy, a just divine judgement given the king's lack of devotion.[304] Adam thought, in particular, that the dying Hugh's own contempt for John was worth remembering.[305] When John visited Hugh's deathbed, the bishop 'did not rise or even sit to greet him', distressing the king who pleaded he would do whatever he asked. Although John, having dismissed the attendants, spoke many kind words, the bishop barely replied, knowing any exhortations would be wasted.[306]

Failure to show proper respect to a member of the political elite always carried a risk, but with a saint it could prove lethal. English *vitae* often detail how the expulsion of a bishop could precipitate death, destruction, and military catastrophe. Both the respect merited by these bishops, and the punishments they wielded, were public, physical, and dramatic in nature. Favour and respect could prove reciprocal, and to the benefit of both king and bishop, but especially sinful rulers were marked out by their obvious disrespect and disparagement for the episcopal and saintly support so valued by more virtuous rulers. John's chief crime in the *Magna Vita* was his failure to venerate the Church, a lack of respect which manifested

[301] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 142.
[302] Genesis 4:5.
[303] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 143-144.
[304] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 144. Adam referred to Psalm 51:9 which, as his audience would have known, went on to state the subject 'trusted in the abundance of his riches: and prevailed in his vanity' – fitting words for Adam's portrayal of John, 'a man who did not make the Lord his helper'
[305] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 185.
[306] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 188.

itself most vividly in his embarrassing behaviour during public rituals, the very aim of which had been to underscore the reverence that John so obviously lacked.

The respect in which bishops were held allowed them on occasion to act as spokesmen for the wider political community and to extract benefits on their behalf. The perceived value of their support allowed them to hold kings to account in moments of crisis. Even if the concessions did not last, they highlighted that episcopal support was conditional on correct royal behaviour and a further manifestation of the episcopate's oversight of kings.

This pattern, as discussed above, was most readily apparent at the king's coronation. Hugh the Chanter claimed that Thomas of York (r. 1070-1100) criticised Henry I for having himself crowned at Winchester.[307] Osbern mentioned in passing that Archbishop Æthelnoth had been 'much in favour with the king because he had anointed him'.[308] Royal behaviour might be restrained while the bishop still held out the promise of the coronation itself: according to Eadmer, Eadwig restrained himself and followed Oda's advice, lest the archbishop would 'delay bestowing upon him the blessing of the royal office'. Once crowned, however, Eadwig followed all his whims and desires.[309] A similar pattern was reported by William of Malmesbury. Before Ealdred of York crowned the Conqueror, he forced him to take the coronation oath 'before the whole people to conduct himself with moderation towards his subjects', including by treating the English and French alike.[310] While William acted in this manner, the archbishop treated him as a son. When the king demanded excessive taxation, Ealdred tried to approach the king through envoys, but William 'barely let them in, and sent them packing with a dusty answer'. In response, the archbishop cursed the king and his dynasty. The terrified king had to be calmed by his advisors and the archbishop died before royal messengers had asked for his pardon.[311] Royal successions were ideal moments to create such conditions, but the *vitae* tend to stress the more general support and legitimacy that bishops conferred, rather than any concessions extracted at the coronations themselves. William Rufus, according to Eadmer and Malmesbury, had promised Lanfranc that he would maintain justice, defend the Church, and follow the archbishop's counsel. Like Eadwig, Rufus broke his promises once king and reacted angrily to Lanfranc's

[307] Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York*, ed. and trans. Charles Johnson (London, 1961), 10.
[308] Osbern, 'Translation of St Ælfheah', 302-303.
[309] Eadmer, *Vita S. Odonis*, 25-27.
[310] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 384-385.
[311] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 384-385. For William, Ealdred's death proved a turning point in the Conqueror's attitude towards his subjects.

mild reproofs. Even here, however, Rufus was ashamed enough never to look Lanfranc in the face again according to Malmesbury. Crucially, he continued to refrain from some of his desires out of respect for the archbishop, recognising that upon his 'nod were fastened the eyes of the whole kingdom'. The real turning point in Rufus's behaviour was thus Lanfranc's death, rather than the coronation.[312] Out of a similar desire to gain legitimacy for his own bid for the throne, John had been desperate to receive Hugh of Lincoln's support.[313] Bishops in general, if admittedly archbishops in particular, could restrain royal behaviour, not just because they conferred the royal dignity, but because of the wider respect they commanded across the kingdom.

For this reason, concessions were extracted at moments of crisis. When Rufus appeared to be dying, the king pledged to rule with greater justice, promised Anselm that he would do everything he advised.[314] Once Rufus recovered, he forgot these promises and, according to Eadmer, the ensuing oppression outdid any wrong the king had committed before his illness.[315] Both Eadmer and Malmesbury emphasised Henry I's reliance on Anselm at the beginning of his reign (after, it should be noted, the king had already been crowned). Eadmer recalled how royal messengers begged Anselm to return, as 'the whole realm was on tip-foe for his arrival', with all the kingdom's business 'at a stand-still, hanging on his wishes'.[316] According to the *B* version of the *Gesta Pontificum*, Henry gave initial signs of promise by welcoming Anselm graciously and explaining why it had been necessary to be crowned by the bishop of London in the archbishop's absence. Henry recognised that he would alienate all, as well as the Almighty, if he insulted Anselm or if the prelate abandoned his regime.[317] Threatened by Duke Robert of Normandy (c. 1051-1134), Henry 'could lean

[312] William of Malmesbury, drawing on Eadmer, described how Rufus had 'found Lanfranc lacking in pliancy' and 'softened him up with grand promises of keeping to what was right and fair'. Unlike Eadmer, William added an excuse for Rufus: he abandoned the promises because he faced rebellion. The *B* version was, though, even more scathing: there was no evil Rufus would not commit nor anything he would not promise or threaten. When Lanfranc reminded Rufus of his 'deceitful guarantee', and received Rufus's exasperated reply, he felt 'wearied all by this' and died shortly afterwards. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 107-109; Eadmer, *History of Recent Events in England*, 26-27; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 25 'Erat etenim idem Lanfrancus vir divinae simul et humanae legis peritissimus, atque ad nutum illius totius regni spectabat intuitus'.

[313] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 137-138.

[314] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 119-121. William of Malmesbury added that Rufus ordered a staff placed upon the altar as a guarantee of his amended character and Rufus, albeit briefly, obeyed Anselm 'as conscientiously as if the orders had come from God'

[315] Eadmer, *History of Recent Events in England*, 39-40; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 38-39.

[316] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 127.

[317] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 168-169. The theme was taken up by John of Salisbury, *Vita Anselmi*, 56.

only on Anselm' and so 'let him into all his secrets, and swore to pass good laws'.[318] When threatened with rebellion, Anselm, at Henry's request, intervened with the rebellious lords by calling them back to 'the path of righteousness'.[319] Anselm roused an army to support the king, but promised property and loyalty to Henry only if he revoked his brother's evil customs and enacted good laws. Although the army fought for Henry after he 'offered everyone Anselm as a guarantee', the king, like his predecessors, ignored the archbishop once the crisis was over.[320]

While the concessions gained from reluctant kings proved rather fleeting, they again point to the duties inherent in archiepiscopal office in particular. Concessions could be extracted, not only at the coronation, but at any moment of crisis when the king looked to his episcopate for support. Many *vitae* make clear that it was not so much the archbishop's role during the coronation ceremony itself that mattered, but the wider influence he enjoyed in the realm and the legitimacy he conferred. The incidents provided a further opportunity for biographers to underline the importance of episcopal counsel to royal success. It should also be noted, however, that the bishop's favour was thought to matter for his secular, as much as divine, intercession, that his influence with the wider noble elite. In addition, the promises of good behaviour often pertained to the realm as a whole. By highlighting this pastoral concern for the kingdom itself, the English *vitae,* as we shall see, offer a vivid contrast with the image of episcopal conduct presented in Germany, where similar concerns were largely absent.

5. Resistance to royal government

Ideally, a king would heed the counsel of his bishops. But the *vitae* also stressed the importance of outright resistance to the sinful conduct of both the king and his agents. Such resistance could benefit the bishop's community, but was offered in defence of the realm more generally: as William of Malmesbury had claimed, Anselm's arrival in England had been preceded by the hope that the archbishop would act as 'a spokesman for all, a standard bearer in their van, a shield to protect the public weal'.[321] Leadership within the English Church was thus partly claimed by resisting kings when all other options had been exhausted.

[318] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 170-171.
[319] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 170-171. The more forthright *B* version has Henry taking his most suspect magnates to Anselm so that he 'could by what he said to them scare them out of their disloyalty'.
[320] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 172-173.
[321] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 117-119.

That said, even the examples of episcopal resistance discussed here are highly qualified, with greater sympathy, even for sinful kings and royal officials, than one might expect.

Resisting royal demands marked a bishop out from his peers. He might, in fact, be able to protect his community by gaining the king's respect in this manner. William of Malmesbury described how Ralph, bishop of Selsey (r. 1091-1123) stood up to Rufus on Anselm's behalf and, when threatened, offered to resign. Ralph later responded to Henry I's edicts 'with principled obstinacy' where 'others gave in or kept silent out of fear'.[322] This 'extreme action moved the king to remit the priests' tax for Ralph alone, as being a man who could not be reasoned with'. According to William, his 'religious principles and impetuosity... won him high praise in the eyes of the king'. Whereas Rufus 'took from others', Ralph's 'unwavering innocence' ensured that the king gave to him 'freely and with humility'.[323] Ralph's obstinacy and perseverance won the admiration of the king, who spared him as a result.

Authors could hold the agents of royal government in particular contempt. Eadmer recorded how Wilfrid, Anselm, and the see of Canterbury were threatened and persecuted by royal servants, and Malmesbury lamented that Anselm had been powerless to prevent the oppression enforced by such officials.[324] Gerd Althoff has suggested that, from around 1150, a greater emphasis was placed on the personal responsibility of the king to ensure justice was properly exercised.[325] The king thus had a duty to select suitable royal officials and to restrain their conduct if necessary.[326] The twelfth-century *Chronicle of the Archbishops of York*, which includes a short biography of Ealdred, provides an illustration of this.[327] After the sheriff of York appropriated the archbishop's food renders, Ealdred travelled to London to petition William the Conqueror. During a grand procession from St Paul's to Westminster Abbey, Ealdred responded to the king's attempted greeting with a public rebuke. Ealdred claimed that because he had consecrated the king, he was now forced to curse him because the king, through his agent, had broken his coronation oath. William threw himself at

[322] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 320-321.
[323] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 320-323.
[324] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 70-73. 90-93; Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 81, 98-100, 128; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 70-71.
[325] Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2003), 145-160; Weiler, 'Royal Justice and Royal Virtue', 338 n. 92 for examples.
[326] See, on this point, the examples assembled in Weiler, 'The King as Judge', 118-135.
[327] *Historians of the Church of York*, 2: 345-354.

Ealdred's feet, asking how he had earned so terrible a complaint, and the losses were quickly compensated.[328]

An increased emphasis on resisting royal demands also emerges from the shifting portrayals of Wulfstan of Worcester. According to a legend first told by Osbert of Clare (in his *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, written by 1138), Lanfranc had been intent on ridding the Church of ignorant clerics and had demanded that Wulfstan return his episcopal staff.[329] Once placed on the tomb of Edward the Confessor, however, the symbol of Wulfstan's office could not be dislodged, representing a vindication of the bishop himself as well as a demonstration of the dead king's continued protection of his Church. In Aelred of Rievaulx's version, composed in the early 1160s, the Conqueror, observing the miracle, apologises to Wulfstan, blaming malicious courtiers for false accusations against the bishop.[330] The anecdote was later included in a twelfth-century life of Wulfstan by the Worcester monk Senatus (d. 1207) but with a rather different interpretation.[331] In Senatus's version, King William became Wulfstan's chief antagonist, intent not on reform, but on simply replacing the English episcopate with Norman newcomers. Senatus omitted Aelred's emphasis on royal-episcopal co-operation, and the Conqueror's subsequent generosity to Worcester, retaining Lanfranc's, apology but not that made by the king.[332] It is possible that Senatus's *Life*, perhaps written after 1173, reflected a desire at Worcester to emulate Becket by turning the argument, from one confined between Lanfranc and Wulfstan within the Church, into a case of royal persecution.[333] As Sherry Reames has noted, in the thirteenth-century portrayals of Wulfstan that followed, his episcopal biographers found it difficult 'to reach any lasting consensus on what an ideal bishop should be, other than an opponent of royal tyranny'.[334]

Hugh of Lincoln's biographers placed particular emphasis on the bishop's contempt for the business and demands of royal government. According to Gerald of Wales, Hugh refused to hurry to court before first burying the dead.[335] On the feast-day of Edward the Confessor, when the bishop of Coventry tried to hurry the introit at the king's request, Hugh

[328] *Historians of the Church of York*, 2: 351-352.
[329] The following paragraph draws upon Sherry Reames, 'Rewriting St Wulfstan of Worcester, the Last Anglo-Saxon Bishop, in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Envisioning the Bishop: Images and the Episcopacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sigrid K. Danielson and Evan A. Gatti (Turnhout, 2014), 303-330, especially 313-330.
[330] Reames, 'Rewriting St Wulfstan of Worcester', 313; Marsha Dutton, 'The Staff in the Stone: Finding Arthur's Sword in the Vita Sancti Edwardi of Aelred of Rievaulx', *Arthuriana* 17:3 (2007), 3-30.
[331] Reames, 'Rewriting St Wulfstan of Worcester', 315.
[332] Reames, 'Rewriting St Wulfstan of Worcester', 316.
[333] Reames, 'Rewriting St Wulfstan of Worcester', 317-19.
[334] Reames, 'Rewriting St Wulfstan of Worcester', 322-3, 326-7; Mason, *St Wulfstan*, 113-14.
[335] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 20-21.

insisted that the service could not be shortened. Only once the Mass was completed with proper solemnity, would Hugh attend the royal court 'with his usual gravity and composure'.[336] Gerald further explained that religious feasts more generally were not being observed appropriately because the king always scheduled urgent royal business on the very same days.[337] While other bishops rushed to court, Hugh occupied himself with God and the rituals of those feasts.[338] Similarly, Hugh refused to hurry to Richard's coronation before again burying a corpse on the roadside.[339] The incident, for Gerald, was emblematic of how Hugh pleased God, 'yet never annoyed the earthly prince save by some simple and perhaps slight opposition'.[340] Because Hugh cherished the divine honour, God 'guarded his honour in turn' and the days for royal councils were changed. Hugh thus placed divine matters before secular ones, believing the latter were more easily completed with God's help, and thereby kept his commitments to God and king.[341]

Adam and Gerald made clear that Hugh's resistance to kings was not, however, as 'slight' as the latter had claimed. When the clergy protested against a new tax, demanded by the king to fund his campaigns, they chose Hugh as their 'expression of resistance... as one surpassing the rest in proven and authentic religion'.[342] Richard ordered Hugh's lands to be seized and his household harassed or exiled by royal officials, because 'he alone, before and on behalf of the others, publicly upheld the liberty of the church'.[343] Adam of Eynsham made Hugh's 'great struggles for the liberty of the English Church' the 'principal matter' of the enormous fifth book of the *Magna Vita*. These conflicts culminated in Hugh's 'greatest victory': his magnanimity towards Richard, 'his persecutor'.[344] Hubert Walter explained Richard's need for help in his war against Philip Augustus. According to Adam, it was suggested, 'by those who like him believed that every wish of the king should be unhesitatingly obeyed', that both the barons and the bishops should provide 300 knights to fight overseas for a year. Only Hugh scrutinised the demand with any discrimination. Hugh, and following him, Herbert, bishop of Salisbury (r. 1194-1217), offered resistance. While

[336] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 20-21.
[337] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 22-23 n. 117. Loomis suggests the account is based on Gerald's own testimony.
[338] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 22-23.
[339] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 24-25.
[340] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 24-25.
[341] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 22-23. On the same theme, Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 75, 79.
[342] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 26-7.
[343] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 26-27.
[344] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 74-75.

Herbert suffered confiscation immediately, and only returned to royal favour with great difficulty, no one dared touch Hugh's lands, fearing his excommunication would prove a death sentence.[345] For Adam, this event, more than any other, demonstrated the bishop's constancy and how he remained unswayed by royal persecution or favour.[346]

Although Hugh had returned to favour (and had even received the kiss of peace, discussed further below), the royal demands did not cease. Richard's advisors suggested that the king should request an aid from his magnates and that he would elicit a more favourable answer if he used Hugh as a messenger. Hugh claimed, 'with considerable acerbity' that the very suggestion insulted his office.[347] By rejecting the request, Hugh 'escaped from the snares of his courtiers'.[348] Adam particularly loathed royal agents, explaining that, inspired by the Devil, they sought to wound the bishop by attacking his familiars. They suggested to Richard that Lincoln's wealth could fill the royal treasury if he requested, via Hubert Walter, that Hugh sent twelve of his canons abroad to promote royal interests.[349] When Hubert's envoy arrived, those present were 'greatly disturbed' that Hugh would answer 'the messenger too bluntly', believing 'so critical a situation required suavity and submission, and not episcopal censures'.[350] Instead, Hugh rose from the table, described the request as entirely novel, and insisted he would never be a 'distributor of letters' nor force his clerks into royal service. Richard should be content that his archbishops already devoted themselves to royal business 'to the danger of their souls and forgetful of their profession'. If necessary, Hugh would accompany the clerks and speak to the king in person. The messenger could do what he liked with the letters and pass Hugh's words onto the king. As Adam summarised, as 'a good shepherd to his flock' Hugh would not abandon his clerics.[351]

Adam's admiration for Hugh's protection of his community was as marked as his disdain for the royal servants the bishop opposed. The messenger, who 'almost foamed at the mouth', was dismissed by Adam as 'a chancery clerk... obviously full of his own importance and one whose insolence had been greatly increased by his position at court'.[352] Speechless and indignant at Hugh's response, the royal servant tried to threaten the bishop but Hugh 'cut

[345] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 100.
[346] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 103.
[347] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 105.
[348] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 106.
[349] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 110.
[350] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 111.
[351] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 112.
[352] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 113.

down his insolent words', ordering him to leave. He then sent his own advisors to the archbishop, asking him to consider the threat to church liberties.[353] Hubert pretended to be appeased, claiming he would see if the demand could be dropped or moderated for Hugh, all the time hiding his anger at the bishop's 'open defiance'. A royal proclamation followed instead which ordered Hugh's possessions to be seized by royal officers, but the latter postponed the 'tyrannical decree', fearing divine retribution.[354] Richard was unmoved by their entreaties, replying that the English were too scrupulous. Instead, he would send his mercenary captain, Mercadier, characterised by Adam as a pitiless, sacrilegious, and 'savage beast' who would deal with 'this Burgundian' instead. Richard's friends urged caution, however, and the king, recognising the bishop's power, agreed that he could not lose so important a servant.[355] Richard then gave the task to an official, one devoted to Hugh, but who nonetheless sent men to seize the bishop's estates because he was 'constrained by his fear of the king'. These men withdrew in terror once they encountered Hugh's company and asked his clerks to intercede with the bishop, explaining that they were constrained by fear of the king.[356] They begged Hugh to placate Richard's anger, lest innocent people be caught in the dispute. They would keep his possessions intact, if he would suspend the sentence of excommunication. Imposing it now would only exasperate the king and bring ruin upon them all.[357] Hugh replied that it was not for them to preserve his possessions and that they should seize what belonged to 'Mary, mother of God'. He then excommunicated them regardless. Adam's biblical references at this point referred to the soldiers of the wicked King Azaiah in 2 Kings, sent to the prophet Elijah but destroyed by heavenly fire as they approached.[358] There was clearly no mercy for such royal officials, regardless of the circumstances.[359]

On concluding the *Magna Vita,* Adam called Hugh a 'hammer of kings'.[360] We can see, however, that Hugh himself drew a clear distinction between the monarch and his representatives. Hugh explained his determination to attend Richard's funeral by arguing that the king had only injured him 'because he was not sufficiently on his guard against evil

[353] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 113.
[354] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 113-114; Gen 27:22; Hugh claimed the voice of such men was that of Jacob, but with hands of Esau.
[355] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 114. Adam lamented that the king 'did not dread doing something equally fateful to himself'.
[356] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 115.
[357] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 115.
[358] 2 Kings 1: 9-15.
[359] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 115-116
[360] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 232.

counsellors and their flattery'.[361] He pointed out that his personal experience with the king was quite different: 'he always treated me with the utmost respect, and granted my requests whenever I approached personally about any matter concerning myself'.[362] If the king treated him badly in his absence, this was due to 'the malice of my traducers and not to any ill-will of his own'.[363] In addition, Hugh's actions were more often concerned to demonstrate the correct hierarchy of spiritual and secular matters, rather than frustrating the king's interests directly. Hugh stressed to Richard that he would never oppose anything to the king's advantage, however trivial, provided it did not impinge on God's honour or hinder the salvation of souls.[364] Gerald went further, pointing out that even when Hugh was late to royal meetings, no royal business had yet been transacted.[365] On another occasion, Hugh arrived while discussions were still ongoing and he again could not be faulted.[366] In other words, even when protecting God's honour, one should only be fashionably late for royal business.[367]

It is also worth pointing out the details that lie beneath Adam's hostility to royal officials. Karl Leyser claimed that in the *Magna Vita* the Exchequer represented the heart of royal wickedness, but there was more dialogue here than such a characterisation allows.[368] Adam recorded that Hugh visited the Exchequer to ask royal officials to respect the rights of his Church. Evidently, this was not seen as a hopeless task. The barons, in fact, rose out of reverence for Hugh, granting his requests. At one point, Hugh sat among the barons. They claimed with delight that Hugh had now sat at the Exchequer. Embarassed, Hugh gave them the kiss of peace but noted he would triumph over them if they now committed any hostility towards his diocese. Leyser suggested here, 'for once', the joke was on Hugh and that the 'Holy Man's kiss of peace could almost be as menacing as his curse'.[369] However, the passage which immediately follows this encounter hardly suggests such bitterness: the barons were impressed by the 'craft of the man' and Hugh blessed them before departing.[370] Royal

[361] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 135.
[362] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 136.
[363] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 136.
[364] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 103.
[365] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 20-21.
[366] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 20-21.
[367] Even if events had proved otherwise, Gerald himself defined Hugh's opposition as 'simple and perhaps slight'. Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 24-25.
[368] Leyser, 'Angevin Kings', 172 'We have already seen that most, if not all, secular government was regarded in parish church circles as sinful and wicked, albeit necessary, and the exchequer lay at the heart of this wickedness'.
[369] Leyser, 'Angevin Kings', 172.
[370] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 129-130.

agents often admired Hugh and that respect could be mutual. It had been at the request of beleaguered exchequer officials that Hugh had travelled to settle his dispute with Richard in the first place.[371] Even Henry II's excommunicated forester was absolved by Hugh and became the bishop's devoted friend and benefactor.[372] After Hugh had refused to grant them prebends in his diocese, the opposition of the royal clerks in question turned to reverence. They subsequently served him with such loyalty that Hugh claimed that they would actually have deserved the benefices had they not been so 'completely absorbed in government work'.[373] Where royal servants had resisted the bishop they were often, in any case, driven by fear and even Adam of Eynsham recognised that the king's desire for money was the product of military necessity rather than sinful avarice. Both at the Exchequer, the heart of the Brave New World of Angevin royal government, and more generally, dialogue and mutual respect between admonishing bishops and royal servants was far from impossible.

While considered a hallmark of ideal episcopal conduct, resistance to royal power was therefore rarely unqualified. In addition, this aspect of episcopal behaviour appears especially pronounced in the late twelfth and early-thirteenth century and in the *vitae* of Hugh of Lincoln specifically. Hagiographers did value the 'principled obstinacy' of their subjects more generally, especially where they protected their own communities, but Hugh of Lincoln's role as a spiritual warrior, who defended church liberties, was judged by Gerald and Adam to be of particular importance. Resisting royal demands was part of a more general insistence that such affairs must take second place to God's honour. The courage of particular bishops in the face of royal persecution was contrasted with those who uncritically obeyed the king, endangering their office and their soul as a result. While the view of royal power and persecution could often be negative, there was some recognition that the demands of royal government were driven by military commitments and that royal agents were in an unenviable position when negotiating both royal and episcopal wrath. The context in which these encounters took place was often a threatening one. It is to royal, and indeed episcopal, aggression that we shall now turn.

[371] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 100.
[372] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 119.
[373] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 119.

6. Anger, threats, and intimidation

We will now highlight aspects of the portrayal of kingship which have often been implicit in the discussion above, but whose importance is worth restating. As Hugh of Lincoln pointed out: 'when a great man begs he always does so at the sword's point'.[374] The demands of the English monarchy were often accompanied by a sense of threat. While authors of the *vitae* naturally stressed that some bishops were courageous enough to resist such intimidation, they also acknowledged the justified fears of those who were not quite so brave.[375] The aggressive atmosphere recorded by the *vitae*, in fact, throws the exceptional character of both royal and episcopal behaviour into sharper relief.

Trials, in particular, were characterised as occasions during which bishops defended Christ through their eloquent, and divinely-inspired, defiance of kings. The perseverance of Anselm and Becket made for some of the most detailed sections of any narrative source produced in the twelfth century. As Staunton has highlighted, alongside the early medieval precedents, the trials of Christ and the early martyrs provided important models.[376] Christ had warned his disciples that they would be dragged before courts and kings for his sake and that God would speak through them on such occasions.[377] Peter and Paul, in fact, had implored God to provide them with bold speech specifically for when facing kings.[378] Such examples provided inspiration for bishops intimidated by royal power, but also allowed their biographers to equate royal persecutors with those responsible for the death and suffering of Christ and his apostles.

As has been well-recognised, displays of royal anger and threats were a particular feature of Becket's trial and his dispute with Henry II more generally.[379] The biographers unsurprisingly portrayed Becket's submission to Henry at Clarendon as the consequence of royal threats. Henry's envoys drew Becket aside and made clear what his fate would be if he

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[374] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 105.
[375] Vincent, 'Court of Henry II', 312; Nicholas Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England, 1154–1272', in *Pilgrimage. The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge, 2002), 12–45, at 32-33. Successful negotiating royal wrath, as Nicholas Vincent has pointed out, would test the skills of even the most powerful saint.
[376] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 130.
[377] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 130: Matt 10:17-20, 26:57-68, 27:11-26; Mark 14: 53-65; 15:1-5; Luke 21:12-15, 22:66-71, 23:1-7.
[378] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 131; Acts 4:26, 29, 31.
[379] Vincent, 'Court of Henry II', 316; Vincent, 'Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings', 42-43; Duggan, *Becket*, 97; Barlow, *Becket*, 51; Duggan, in particular, attributing to Henry II a use of terror bordering on Stalinism.

continued to resist.[380] Robert of Leicester, the justiciar, and Reginald of Cornwall, the king's uncle, also used menacing words.[381] It was in the face of royal intimidation that Becket had submitted, but, his biographers argued, his actions must also be seen in the context of the archbishop's concern for his fellow prelates who were right to fear such threats.

For the biographers it was the trial at Northampton though that represented the unparalleled test of Becket's perseverance in the face of the king's repeated attempts to humiliate and break him.[382] As Staunton pointed out, the event received more attention than any other in the *vitae* aside from the martyrdom itself.[383] When Becket was accused of corruption, he responded that he had spent the revenues concerned on the king's behalf while chancellor. He argued that his fellow bishops knew this to be true and must speak out. It would otherwise be unsafe to call witnesses against a rule so blinded by his own rage: the importance of royal anger, the episcopal duty to speak truth to power, and the trial's threatening atmosphere thus all came together.[384] The nobles who had listened to Becket either returned to the king in silence or, like the persecutors of Christ, accused the archbishop of blasphemy.[385] Within Becket's earshot, and while glancing at him, they pointed out that the Conqueror had known 'how to break his clerks' when he had arrested his own brother, Odo of Bayeux, and imprisoned Stigand.[386] Henry's own father Geoffrey, they pointed out, had castrated Arnulf, bishop-elect of Séez, along with his clerks, and had their genitals brought to him in a basin.[387] This threatening atmosphere had very physical consequences. No knights or barons would visit Becket 'as they understood the mind of the king'. The monarch controlled the very logistics of this court.[388] FitzStephen mentioned that he himself had been blocked by the rod of a royal marshal from approaching Becket to offer moral support.[389] When Becket tried to leave, he was surrounded by the king's followers who screamed at him that he was a perjurer and a traitor.[390] According to Alan of Tewkesbury, again echoing the Gospels, there were even calls for the archbishop to be crucified.[391]

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[380] *Life and Death of Thomas Becket*, 73; *MTB* 3: 48-49.
[381] Barlow, *Becket*, 98.
[382] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 132-139.
[383] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 129.
[384] *MTB* 3: 63.
[385] *MTB* 3: 64.
[386] *MTB* 3: 65 'novit clericos suos domare'.
[387] *MTB* 3: 65.
[388] *MTB* 3: 54 'intellecto regis animo'.
[389] *MTB* 3: 59.
[390] Thomas, 'Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket', 1065.
[391] *MTB* 3: 312–13; Even Warren admitted Henry behaved like a tyrant at the trial. Warren, *Henry II* , 488, 492.

FitzStephen took the opportunity to criticise the king in a passage removed from a later version of the text.[392] Becket's trial, FitzStephen here argued, was itself a perversion of natural and divine justice. It entailed the son judging his father, a subject an archbishop, and a sheep his shepherd. Henry might protest that Becket was also a baron, but FitzStephen urged:

> 'it is more significant that you are a Christian, that you are God's sheep, that you are God's adopted son, than that you are a king... more important that he is an archbishop, that he is the vicar of Jesus Christ, than that he is your baron'.[393]

By threats and intimidation, the king had not only insulted a representative of Christ. The very trial he had presided over was a reversal of the divine order itself. Royal conduct should be subject to episcopal censure, not the other way around.

Such threats have often been downplayed by modern scholars.[394] Warren argued that, even if the biographers dwelt on Henry's remarks, they were still reporting 'words not deeds'.[395] Barlow suggested that it is difficult to know how seriously to take the threats, juxtaposing foolish courtly talk and rash remarks against the fact that it was almost unheard of for a bishop to be imprisoned, let alone executed.[396] Henry's lack of sincerity meant he had to 'mimic' violence, an argument that has been developed further by Hugh Thomas. We should indeed balance these descriptions with the fact that even Becket's biographers did not depict Henry as some violent and unpredictable tyrant. FitzStephen described how Herbert of Bosham had fiercely admonished Henry before a public audience, evidently trusting in the king's promise of safe-conduct.[397] FitzStephen himself made peace with Henry during Becket's exile, even presenting him with a royal prayer, included in his *vita*, which had the king confess to multiple sins. That Henry's response was favourable no doubt owed something to the fact that this approach entailed the king criticising himself. Nonetheless, the threat was certainly felt to be real enough, as Barlow admitted, given that the archbishop had fled the kingdom out of fear (unlike Anselm who had chosen to leave). In fact, according to

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[392] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 138.
[393] *MTB* 3: 59 'Majus est in te quod Christianus es, quod ovis Dei es, quod filius adoptionis Dei es, quam quod rex es. Et in illo majus est, quod archiepiscopus, quod vicarius Jesu Christi, quam quod baro tuus est'.
[394] See Thomas, 'Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket', 1068 where he cites Warren, *Henry II*, 488–89; Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues*, 75; Barlow, *Becket*, 112; Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 163 as examples. Exceptions include both Thomas and Duggan, cited above.
[395] Warren, *Henry II*, 459.
[396] Barlow, *Becket*, 112, 117.
[397] Barlow, *Becket*, 140-142.

the *vitae,* such threats were not unique but part of the standard political arsenal of English kings.

As with Becket, the sufferings inflicted by Rufus on Anselm echoed those endured by Christ. The archbishop was accused of blasphemy for having defied the king and the royal court had dissolved into chaos when William of St Calais declared Anselm should be crushed by force.[398] Familiar personally with the threatening atmosphere at Rockingham, in his *Vita Wilfridi* Eadmer had gone on to record how Anglo-Saxon kings had threatened their own prelates in similiar fashion. King Aldfrith (d. 704/705), for example, had been prepared to use an army against Wilfrid precisely because, like Anselm, he had appealed to Rome.[399] According to Hugh the Chanter, when Thomas of York resisted the Conqueror's will, the enraged king had threatened to hate him forever and force his relatives into exile.[400] The fear Henry II could inspire is neatly conveyed by several incidents in the *Magna Vita*. When the king gave Hugh an ornate Bible, the bishop was disturbed to learn that it had been taken from Winchester. The manuscript's return had to be kept secret, the Winchester monks terrified of Henry's reaction if Hugh publicly declined the gift.[401] When the bishop's clerks had travelled with their episcopal master to see Richard I, portents of divine assistance were valued precisely because meeting a king was so intimidating an event, especially when one had fallen from royal favour. According to Adam, the signs of God's favour raised them 'from great dejection and anxiety, and they began to breathe again'. Given the 'insufferable rudeness' and losses recently sustained by the bishop of Salisbury, 'to have incurred the wrath of such a ruler did not seem to them an unreasonable ground for alarm'.[402] Before Richard died, Hugh heard rumours of the king's terrible threats, alarming the same clerks.[403] In this context, we can see why the kiss of peace was seized so forcefully by Hugh and so desperately sought by Becket. Without it, the bishop's lack of royal protection was made clear to all observers. Whatever the legal force of this bond, it forced participants to do the

[398] According to William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 136-137 it was the magnates, 'much more than the bishops' who restrained the king. See also Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 131-132, 142-143; Eadmer, *History of Recent Events in England*, 62-63; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia,* 62-63.
[399] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 125.
[400] Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York*, 3-4.
[401] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 87-88.
[402] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 87-88.
[403] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 107.

'emotional work' required to resolve a feud.[404] As Hugh Thomas has noted, the reluctance to give it, suggested the continued use of harassment, threats, and intimidation.[405]

In a similar vein, when Wulfstan of Worcester was reproached by his followers for sleeping at a point when he should have been preparing to win back disputed properties, he pointed out:

> 'when you are brought before kings and rulers, do not think about how you will speak, or what words you will utter. For you are to say whatever is given to you in that hour.'[406]

A bishop did not have to be on trial, or even under threat, to recognise that royal encounters were intimidating. As Vincent noted, arriving late, limiting one's public appearances, and the use of both silence and humour were all elements of royal statecraft designed to unnerve petitioners. Walter Map suggested that Henry II had been instructed in such techniques by his mother.[407] In such an atmosphere, displays of divine eloquence were all the more remarkable.

As Thomas has shown in respect of the Becket dispute, kings did not have a monopoly on intimidation. Clerics defending their honour were described in martial terms and brave, tough, and persistent behaviour was encouraged by their followers, especially during tense stand-offs.[408] Herbert compared Becket and the bishops at Clarendon to a line of fortifications, while William of Canterbury characterised Becket at Northampton as a 'miles Christi'.[409] Herbert thought that Foliot's criticisms of Becket, in this context, were like those of a 'woman spinning in the home who condemns a knight fighting in battle'. Becket's followers, by contrast, were 'brave, robust, strenuous, and constant in battle, as a knight should be to his commander'.[410] Those who deserted the archbishop for the king were fragile

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[404] Kiril Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace. Ritual, Self and Society in the High and Late Medieval West* (Leiden, 2003), especially 64-65.

[405] As Thomas pointed out, Becket himself thought that, if anything happened to him, Henry II would suffer a greater loss to his reputation if he had given the kiss. Thomas, 'Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket', 1066-1067; Klaus Schreiner, '"Osculum pacis" Bedeutungen und Geltungsgründe einer symbolischen Handlung', in *Spielregeln der Mächtigen: Mittelalterliche Politik zwischen Gewohnheit und Konvention*, ed. Claudia Garnier and Hermann Kamp (Darmstadt, 2010), 165–204.

[406] Mason, *St Wulfstan*, 110-111; William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, 61-65.

[407] Vincent, 'Court of Henry II', 310-311, 319, 327-328.

[408] Thomas, 'Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket', 1050-1088 and the scholarship cited therein.

[409] Thomas, 'Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket', 1081; *MTB* 1: 38-39; 3 :272.

[410] *MTB* 5: 289 'At satis irnpudenter militem in praelio dimicantem objurgat mulier nens in domo'; *MTB* 3: 530 'De his autem quos in istorum eruditorum pono catalogo, ut supra singulos enumerando notavimus, quidam nobiscum ad praelii pondus sustinendum audaces, robusti, strenui et constantes, paupertatis amici permanserunt, pauci abierunt retro. Et in hoc etiam miles suo conformis Imperatori'.

or seduced women. A noblewoman who resisted royal demands, in contrast, was judged to have acted 'manfully'.[411]

At times, in fact, it proved difficult for biographers to portray Becket as both victim and aggressor. At Northampton, having recovered from an illness perhaps caused by the stress and fear brought about by Henry's threats, Becket returned to defy Henry on a day of Mars, God of War, according to Herbert.[412] Becket then celebrated the Mass of St Stephen, the first Christian martyr, with the introit 'for princes did also sit and speak against me'.[413] According to FitzStephen, spies 'malignly' suggested to the king that Becket referred to himself.[414] As Staunton and Jennifer O'Reilly pointed out, the date was the first anniversary of Edward the Confessor's translation and Becket would have been expected to commemorate Henry's predecessor. He therefore offended the king by undercutting his attempts to claim his antecedent's sanctity.[415] The reticence of the biographers, however, who were perhaps uncomfortable with this tactic, should be noted. None linked the event to Edward's translation, but they did state that the archbishop feared for his safety and had been urged by some to celebrate the Mass as a form of protection.[416] For Herbert, the Mass mattered instead because it illustrated how Becket himself had changed, putting on the face of a man and a lion.[417] When Becket entered the king's presence barefoot, in his vestments, carrying the cross on the Church's behalf, Herbert reminded his archbishop that the same standard had brought victory to the Church in numerous wars, including those of Constantine the Great.[418] The reaction to this gesture was a testament to its aggression. Foliot denounced Becket as a fool, noting that the entire realm would face disaster if the king drew his sword in response. Alan of Tewkesbury noted that another bishop offered to take the cross to defuse the tension, but Becket replied that he would keep it. Henry would thereby know 'under what prince I soldier'.[419] While even Becket's biographers displayed occasional hesitancy regarding his tactics, they were keen to show that the archbishop was a brave and steadfast warrior, defending God's honour in spite of royal persecution.

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[411] *MTB* 3: 105; *CTB* 2: 1232-1235; According to John of Salisbury, Becket himself prayed at the shrine of St Drausius and saw himself as a spiritual warrior; See for further discussion and examples, Thomas, 'Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket', 1079.
[412] *MTB* 3: 301.
[413] Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society,* 86. an act Mayr-Harting described as 'gesture politics in extreme'.
[414] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 133; *MTB* 3: 56.
[415] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 135; O'Reilly, 'Double Martyrdom of Thomas Becket', 218-235.
[416] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers*, 135; O'Reilly, 'Double Martyrdom of Thomas Becket', 224, 228.
[417] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 135; *MTB* 3: 484-485.
[418] Staunton, *Becket and His Biographers,* 136-137; *MTB* 3: 307-8
[419] *MTB* 2: 330 'sub quo principe milito'.

While this forceful, aggressive, and martial episcopal demeanour has been recognised in relation to the Becket dispute, it also provides a lens through which to understand much of the behaviour described in the English *vitae*. As Thomas noted, according to the *Magna Vita,* Hugh of Lincoln's brothers would have preferred that he had never been born if he were to ever compromise his Church out of cowardice.[420] Hugh was a knight of God, not least in his conflicts with kings.[421] As Becket's celebration of the Mass and procession with the Cross illustrate, there were other ways to be aggressive than drawing the sword. The same can be said of criticising the king in public, cursing him and his descendants, and of dragging him out of his own bed. If some of the *vitae* are to be believed, the English kings had more violence visited upon their person by bishops than by any other group. Malmesbury described the fury of Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury (r. 1114-1122) when he found that, during the coronation of Henry I's second queen, the king had received his crown from the bishop of Winchester. Ralph insisted that it must be removed, or he would not celebrate Mass. When the king rushed to unfasten the crown, Ralph refused to wait and tried to pull it off himself, 'scarcely constrained by the united shouts and prayers of them all from bringing violence to bear on the king's head'.[422] Such forceful behaviour was more the exception than the norm, but such instances still allowed authors to boast of their bishop's aggressive, forceful, and persistent behaviour when upholding God's honour. In the final section, we shall turn to the role played by this last concept throughout the royal-episcopal encounters examined in the course of this chapter.

7. Honour, public audience, and 'breaking the rules of the game'

The importance of both royal and episcopal honour is apparent throughout the *vitae*. It is further evident in the attention paid to the public setting for these encounters and the ability of bishops to break what Althoff called 'the rules of the game'. Proximity to the king, and the very opportunity to offer counsel, was an honour in itself. FitzStephen boasted that, as chancellor, Becket could attend all meetings of the king's council, whether invited or not, and in July 1170 a private conversation heralded the archbishop's apparent return to favour.[423] Success at court turned on one's ability to reach the king.[424] The importance of favour is also

[420] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 2: 171.
[421] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 2: 6-7.
[422] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum,* 1: 213.
[423] Vincent, 'Court of Henry II', 312; *MTB,* 3:18.
[424] Vincent, 'Court of Henry II', 314.

reflected in the detail with which the *vitae* recorded the king's countenance and physical movements, as when Rufus met Anselm at the entrance to his court, prostrated himself before him, and led him to the royal throne before seating him upon it.[425] Becket has often been accused of 'gesture politics', but kings too were among the most frequent practitioners of such behaviour.[426] Such tokens of royal respect were recorded with pride in the *vitae*. According to Malmesbury, even Archbishop Stigand (r. 1052-1070) commanded the Conqueror's respect. When the king took Stigand to Normandy, William claimed, it was 'difficult to exaggerate the civilities he showed': the king always rose to his feet to honour the archbishop, ensuring he was welcomed throughout the duchy by long and elaborate processions.[427] Malmesbury also included a series of verses, composed by a monk in honour of Abbot Faricius (d. 1117), which described how the abbot made kings beholden to his cures, how they bowed down before him, and how favour at court ensured he 'lorded over lords, pressing them beneath him'.[428] On Richard's death, the *Magna Vita* noted that John begged Hugh to honour him with a visit. Upon catching sight of the bishop, he 'showed immense pleasure' and spurred his horse towards him, before asking, in the 'most respectful terms', if Hugh would accompany him to England.[429] When Hugh and Richard had been reconciled, Gerald characterised the kiss of peace as a 'sudden and unexpected mark of royal favour', a 'tribute', and a 'mark of deference' at which 'all marvelled'.[430] Hugh himself, as we have seen, risked his life to repay Richard his honour, and on his deathbed, he urged his canons to do the same even for as despised a ruler as John.[431] When a bishop fell from favour, humiliation took the form of equally public gestures. Once Becket lost Henry's favour, the latter would only communicate with him through envoys. On arrival at Northampton, Becket was sent to a chamber to await the king, but was refused the kiss of peace. Henry was furious that Becket had not answered his summons, so commanded his presence again through the sheriff of Kent, a calculated insult for one accustomed to receiving personal invitations.[432] Gaining the obedience of kings, receiving royal favour through public gestures, and claiming to dominate the royal court, were episcopal feats to be remembered with pride by the bishop's own community, but exclusions from such displays of familiarity were equally dramatic.

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[425] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 63-64.
[426] Warren, Henry II, 400, 487 for example; Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society*, 86.
[427] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 46-47.
[428] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 304-305.
[429] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 137-138.
[430] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 102-103.
[431] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 36-37.
[432] *MTB* 3:43, 49-50

When the resistance of kings to episcopal counsel was justified at all, then it was with reference to the defence of royal honour, dignity, and rights. Queen Ermenburg and Becket's detractors warned Ecgfrith and Henry II respectively of the threat that the bishop presented to their honour and dignity, the latter suggesting that Canterbury desired complete control over the Crown.[433] Hugh the Chanter claimed, of Henry I's compromise over investiture, that the king lost only 'a little perhaps of his royal dignity'.[434] Such losses mattered more than Hugh implied. William of Malmesbury had Rufus declare of the royal customs laid down by his father, that

> 'he who transgresses the customs of the kingdom also violates the power and crown of the kingdom. He who takes my crown from me is being hostile and disloyal.'[435]

Eadmer, contradicting Hugh the Chanter, claimed that Henry I informed Anselm that the loss of investiture left him with 'little or no power', and that he was 'disturbed and troubled beyond measure' by Anselm's views.[436] When Anselm left for Rome, he was accompanied by a royal messenger, who would 'lend his assistance in safeguarding the royal honour'.[437] Similar language was used in the Becket dispute. According to FitzStephen, the bishops were told that failure to confirm the Clarendon decrees 'would be tantamount to taking away from the king the crown of his kingdom'.[438] At Northampton, when Becket was accused of contempt for the king, FitzStephen admitted that Becket had little excuse for ignoring the king's summons, given 'reverence to royal majesty, and the obligation of liege homage... and on account of the faith and honour of his earthly honour he had sworn'.[439] Reconciliation between king and archbishop indeed floundered on this very issue. When Henry refused to give the kiss of peace, he insisted to Becket that they should:

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[433] Eadmer, *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, 65-67; John of Salisbury, *Vita Anselmi*, 82-83.
[434] Mayr Harting, *Religion and Society*, 54-55; Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Archbishops of York*, 33-35.
[435] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 136-137.
[436] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 126-127.
[437] John of Salisbury, *Life of St Anselm*, 56 repeats Eadmer's account to describe how Anselm went, with royal emissaries, 'to procure a remedy for the royal dignity that had been offended'; John of Salisbury, *Vita St Anselmi*, 1031; Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 127-128.
[438] *The Life and Death of Thomas Becket*, trans. George Greenaway (London, 1962), 73; *MTB* 3:48 'tanquam regi coronam regni auferre velit'.
[439] *The Lives of Thomas Becket*, trans. Michael Staunton (Manchester, 2001), 102; *MTB* 3: 52 Visum est omnibus ex reverentia regiae majestatis, et ex astrictione ligii homagii, quod domino regi archiepiscopus fecerat, et ex fidelitate et observantia terreni eius honoris, quam ei juraverat, quod parum esset defensus vel excusatus'.

> 'put it off for now. . . It is part of my honour, that in this thing he appear to defer to me, and in my land the granting of a kiss will seem to spring from grace and benevolence, while here it would seem to be prompted by necessity.'[440]

Whatever the truth of Henry's words, FitzStephen made it explicit that it was the appearance of honour maintained that really mattered. Even Becket's final moments were beset by claims from the knights that he had shamed the king.[441]

Bishops, in turn, were portrayed as appealing to the royal honour when defending their own actions. The royal dignity was not harmed by those who corrected the king, but by those who allowed him to persist in error. Naturally, Anselm insisted that he obeyed Rufus 'in all things that pertain to the earthly dignity of my lord'.[442] But, according to Eadmer, he went further, claiming that he had only taken up the archbishopric to work for the king's 'honour and advantage'.[443] Before leaving for Rome, Anselm assured Henry I that he would never ask the Pope to do anything contradicting that honour.[444] William of Canterbury likewise claimed Becket fought at court on behalf of the Church while chancellor as far as the royal honour, and the king's displeasure, allowed, while Hugh of Lincoln, according to Adam, insisted to Richard that he opposed the king only in matters concerning God's honour.[445] The *vitae* thus record a clash between differing interpretations of how to best safeguard the king's honour, rather than outright attempts to harm or deny it.

Episcopal honour has received less attention, but was no less important. Indeed, the honour of Canterbury, according to the *vitae,* was a concern for the Crown because the two were interrelated. When Henry and Becket were briefly reconciled, FitzStephen claimed that the archbishop singled out, among all the evils he had endured, the fact that Henry had his son crowned by the archbishop of York: this was the one act 'that disturbs me the most and which I cannot, nor should I, leave untouched or uncorrected'.[446] The king claimed to have heard that it was one of his royal privileges to have his son crowned by whomever he chose,

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[440] *Lives of Thomas Becket,* 177; *MTB* 3: 111 'Rex ait, "In terra mea centies eius osculabor os, manus, et pedes; centies eius audiam missam; sed modo differatur. Non loquor captiose. Honor mihi est, ut in aliquo mihi deferre videatur; et in terra mea osculum dare de majore videbitur gratia et benignitate, quod hic fieri videretur de necessitate"'.
[441] *MTB* 2: 430-436; See Thomas, 'Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket', 1085.
[442] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum,* 1: 136-137.
[443] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 92.
[444] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum,* 1: 127-128.
[445] *MTB* 1: 5.Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita,* 2: 103.
[446] *MTB* 3: 109: 'unum est quod me plus movet, et quod intactum incorrectumve omittere neque possum neque debeo'.

pointing out (incorrectly) that William the Conqueror and Henry I had been crowned by Ealdred, archbishop of York and the bishop of Hereford respectively. When Becket explained that Canterbury's dignity had not been slighted on either occasion, Henry insisted that he also wished to guard the diocese's honour because Canterbury had anointed him.[447] In Hugh the Chanter's view, the Conqueror supported Canterbury's primacy after Lanfranc had warned the king that any invader could be crowned at York.[448] English kings had an obvious interest in the legitimacy of their anointers. The slights endured by bishops, as much as kings, constituted an insult, however, not only to episcopal, but to divine honour. Eadmer lamented that Anselm, 'the primate of Britain', had been detained by a royal agent 'on the shore like a fugitive and common criminal'.[449] When charged at Northampton, FitzStephen noted that Becket 'so as to preserve his dignity as archbishop' argued that he owed the king faith, saving his obedience to God and his dignity and honour as an ecclesiastical person.[450] According to Adam, because Hugh of Lincoln had protected the divine honour, God guarded the bishop's dignity in return.[451] As far as the authors of the *vitae* were concerned, royal, episcopal, and divine honour were intertwined.

Prelates have occasionally been criticised by modern scholars for their awkward political conduct. Barlow thought Anselm's simplicity 'embarrassing to most men of the time' and 'contrary to the rules of gentlemanly behaviour', while Becket, as we have seen, has often been accused of mishandling political discourse and lacking in humour and courtesy.[452] Bishops were, in fact, praised precisely because they approached kings with an unparalleled directness that flouted contemporary norms of polite behaviour. It was this very demeanour that impinged upon a ruler's honour. As Southern noted of Anselm, 'simply to keep asking is not a very refined form of political action, but it is very wearying'.[453] We can see the relationship between honour and breaks in political etiquette if we examine the clash between Anselm and Rufus in greater detail. The king's temper flared up at Anselm's mention of Urban II, because Rufus claimed he alone could recognise a pope. After having been invited to Winchester by the king, Anselm asked again 'more insistently... through intermediaries' but, in response, Rufus 'querulously complained that he was being troubled

[447] *Lives of Thomas Becket*, 175-176; *MTB* 3: 109-110.
[448] Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society*,30-31; Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York*, 3.
[449] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 98.
[450] *Lives of Thomas Becket*, 110-111; *MTB* 3: 63 'ut suam archiepiscopi conservaret dignitatem'.
[451] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln,* 22-23.
[452] Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154: A History of the Anglo-Norman Church* (London, 1979), 292.
[453] Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 160.

by him too much'.[454] Despite Anselm's entreaties, Rufus swore the archbishop would be fined because 'he has asked me three times to grant something to which he had no assurance that he should persevere'.[455] We find a similar response to Anselm's repeated requests for permission to go to Rome. Rufus claimed the archbishop persisted in 'breaking the promises he made on his honour to observe all the customs of my kingdom'. In particular, he would be judged by the court for 'having had the nerve to pester me so often'.[456] John of Salisbury's *Vita Anselmi* similarly noted that the archbishop was reproached by the episcopate for having 'offended the royal majesty', that Rufus was 'upset and... exceedingly annoyed' by the recurring requests, and that the archbishop must 'follow the decision of the court not to persist'.[457] Provoking the king into repeated and public rejections of one's demand was itself a provocation.

William of Malmesbury made clear that Anselm was not above using more earthly tactics to gain a royal audience. Anselm initially offered Rufus £500 precisely in the hope that 'he should be able to speak more freely if the king had been softened up by presents'.[458] When the archbishop later donated the money to the poor instead, the rift between king and archbishop was now permanent. Malmesbury provided the king's perspective: 'he could see that he was held in the highest contempt by an archbishop who dared say to him things that Lanfranc would never have presumed to say to his father'.[459] Given the restraint and indirectness with which, as we saw above, Lanfranc advised the Conqueror, Rufus may well have had a point. When Anselm realised that he had offended the king, and asked to be judged or restored to favour, Rufus responded that he simply had no reason to do the latter. The bishops explained to Anselm that this meant 'only money could placate the king'. He should offer as much, or more, than before. An offer of any less, no doubt, would have constituted a further slight to the king's honour. Anselm threw this back at the king by appealing to the same concept. He was shocked 'something as precious as his majesty' could simply be brought.[460] It was the demand itself, not the refusal, that would 'degrade my lord by judging him capable of something so foul, when what I owe is loyalty and honour'.

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[454] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 91.
[455] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 92.
[456] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 144-145.
[457] John of Salisbury, *Lives*, 42, 44; John of Salisbury, *Vita St Anselmi*, col. 1023-1024 'uno impetu vociferati sunt eum deliquisse in regiam majestatem. . . Turbatur rex, et se nimis vexari conqueritur... et subjecit quod, si remanere vellet, judicium curiae sequeretur, quod a rege petierat in quo non fuerat perseveraturus'.
[458] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 128-129.
[459] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 130-131.
[460] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 132-133.

Providing the money would only vindicate the king's tactics and 'foster the habit of anger'.[461] If Anselm, as others did, paid for access to the king, he would himself contribute to the king's moral decline.

Rufus was 'roused to fury' when Anselm once again 'had the effrontery' to ask for permission to leave the kingdom. When the bishops repeated their earlier suggestion, that he should offer payment for the king's friendship, the archbishop dismissed it as a trap. How both king and bishop approached one another mattered in the events that followed. Rufus, 'learning of his [Anselm's] constancy' took the initiative by asking him to return to royal favour. When Anselm 'wished to make a tactful approach', Rufus pre-empted him, sending a messenger to criticise Canterbury's military contribution.[462] In response, Anselm sent the messenger away 'without a reply, so as not to leave the field wide open for a quarrel if he riposted in kind'.[463] Eventually, Anselm decided he could no longer reply to the king through such intermediaries and so went 'to sit at [Rufus's] right hand' instead. In person, Rufus blushed and felt ashamed at having threatened the archbishop. Anselm blessed the king, apologised for having made him angry, and assured him the journey to Rome was for 'the good of the king's soul'.[464] A bishop could achieve a very different reaction in person when compared to the ratchetting up of tensions that occurred when recriminations flew back and forth through messengers. Gerald of Wales, in a similar fashion, saw it as a wonderful mark of God's power and Hugh's grace that Richard's 'deeply offended, almost tyrannical spirit, was changed against all expectations'.[465] As we saw above, the harsh manner of the Conqueror was similarly thought to have been soothed by the presence of Lanfranc and Anselm. If a bishop could reach the king in person, his demeanour might change dramatically. Even a king such as Rufus found it hard to insult or threaten his archbishop in person.

Making the same request of the king on repeated occasions, when it was likely to be declined, was itself judged as an affront to royal honour. In addition, both sides of the dispute appealed to a concern for royal dignity. While the use of intermediaries was a constant feature, Anselm judged that speaking to Rufus in person would prove more effective. More generally, we find frequent examples of episcopal conduct which were much praised by their

[461] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 132-133.
[462] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 142-143.
[463] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 142-143.
[464] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 146-147; Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 92.
[465] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 28-29.

hagiographers, but which were clearly thought to have offered a slight to others. As Cicero had noted, correction itself was a most frequent cause of offence to friendship.[466] Becket's fellow bishops had made the same point.[467] Eadwig's consort, when she reprimanded Dunstan and Cynsige, was certainly correct to suggest that 'a man... was peculiarly high-minded if he ventured to violate the privacy of a king'.[468] According to Malmesbury, she persuaded Eadwig to launch a war against God and the monasteries, and not simply Dunstan alone, because she 'thought it unbefitting the king's majesty if he spent the force of his fury on a single man'.[469] Intrusion on a king's privacy, let alone violence to his person, was meant to be shocking. Hugh's canons feared their master responded to royal messengers 'too bluntly'. His 'curt refusal' might have been deemed courageous, but it invited criticisms of 'black ingratitude' by an 'ill-bred man' whose future conduct, his detractors warned the king, was unpredictable 'if he bluntly refuses your highness in such a little thing'.[470] Henry II himself had insisted Hugh explain why he treated

> 'my trifling request to you with such contempt, that you neither came yourself to explain why you had refused it, nor sent any excuse by our messenger?'[471]

A bishop's ability to be blunt marked him out from a wider political culture predicated upon doing the precise opposite. As William of Malmesbury noted, the fact that Anselm did not have to find 'a tactful means of approach and was admitted immediately into the royal presence' marked him out as 'not like other men'.[472] As Gerald of Wales noted of Hugh, kings 'privately winked at several things that if done by another might have provoked great indignation'.[473] Hugh's refusal to hurry to the royal court demonstrated his commitment to the Church, but it was a slight to those forced to wait.[474]

The *Magna Vita* provides an especially useful case study of both the importance of *Spielregeln*, but also of the extent to which their representation could be manipulated by the authors of the *vitae* themselves.[475] Hugh's unusual relationship with royal favour merits greater scrutiny in this regard. As Adam reported, after Hugh and Herbert clashed with

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[466] Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 198-199.
[467] *MTB* 3: 257-258.
[468] B, *Vita Dunstani*, 70-71.
[469] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 228-229.
[470] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 115-116, 2: 111.
[471] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 118.
[472] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 118-119.
[473] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 22-23.
[474] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 24-25.
[475] Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual* (Princeton, 2009).

Richard over claims for scutage, the latter's fate was more typical: he only regained royal favour after enduring many insults and paying compensation.[476] Whatever their motives, Hubert Walter, and Anselm's fellow bishops had advocated a common political tactic when they suggested that money would appease the king.[477] Equally, when Richard's advisors requested that Hugh carry royal messages, it was not unreasonable for them to have assumed that the bishop would welcome this opportunity 'to advance further in the royal favour'.[478] Hugh was equally correct to recognise that any refusal constituted a slight to the king. He begged them not to repeat the request as 'by resisting the royal plan he must necessarily again lose his favour'.[479] Adam took care when choosing which aspects of the bishop's conduct to emphasise. Shortly before Richard's death, when Hubert Walter suggested Hugh should send money to the king, the bishop refused in a witty manner, but was then described by Adam as returning to Lincoln 'having made the necessary arrangements... to go abroad immediately for the king'. The audience is left to wonder whether Hugh resorted to such earthly tactics after all.[480] No less saintly exemplars as Anselm and Dunstan had themselves used bribes when required.

Adam of Eynsham's careful construction of Hugh of Lincoln's reconciliation with Richard is especially noteworthy. Adam stressed that the bishop approached Richard without an intermediary. Although Richard's countenance signalled his displeasure, Hugh eventually obtained the kiss of peace by violently shaking the king until he relented.[481] Adam, as discussed above, wrote of the anxiety experienced by Hugh's company before the meeting while Gerald of Wales noted that Hugh had 'confidently approached the king' against the warnings of his attendants.[482] Later in the *Magna Vita*, however, Adam made clear that Hugh's behaviour, while still extraordinary, was not quite as far from the normal conduct of politics as one might think. Three days before their reconciliation, Hugh had met at Rouen two men 'of exceptionally high rank', the Earl Marshal and the Earl of Abermarle, both of whom reported Richard's anger, his punishment of Herbert, and his threats against Hugh.[483] They urged the bishop to allow them to intercede with the king and bring about a

[476] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 100.
[477] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 124; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 127-131.
[478] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 105.
[479] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 105-106.
[480] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 124.
[481] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 102.
[482] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 26-29; Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 107.
[483] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 107.

reconciliation, rather than 'expose him to the full force of the king's fury'.[484] Reflecting the connection between episcopal support and wider prosperity, discussed above, they claimed that the conflict between Hugh and Richard would lead to disaster, not only for the parties involved, but for the realm itself. Hugh thanked them for their good will, but forbade them from interceding with so angry a ruler lest 'he should rebuff you so rudely that you would become less devoted to his interests'.[485] If Richard forgave Hugh at their behest, they would owe him a favour and the king would not reward them properly. Nonetheless, Hugh instructed them to tell the king that he wished to visit and that, if this was the king's pleasure, he should name a place.[486] The king, 'not a little amazed', arranged to meet the bishop, with God ensuring that 'his mind was almost completely changed' .[487] As with the encounter in the forest between Hugh and Henry II, also arranged at the king's request, reconciliation was not as sudden, dramatic, or as miraculous as Adam liked to claim. A private meeting, and intermediaries, had paved the way for a public display of reconciliation, a pattern to which Gerd Althoff has frequently drawn attention.[488] At the same time, Adam's account remains an authorial construct, drawing attention to different aspects of the reconciliation at different moments within the narrative. While the account is contradictory, it allowed Adam to stress a miraculous reconciliation, Hugh's defiance of the normal 'rules of the game', in addition to the bishop's generosity and pastoral care with regard to his intercessors. Notably, Adam reported a perception among the latter that any harm done to the bishop would rebound to the detriment of the king and realm. The portrayal of the bishop defying the rules of the game, that bound lesser men, could thus throw those very conventions into sharp relief. If the mask created by Adam occasionally slipped, it was only because of the weight of multiple meanings he had forced it to bear.

The royal court and the public setting for these encounters also attracted comment. It is worth bearing in mind the sheer size of the former: there was an important, large, and powerful audience for displays of royal favour and episcopal censure.[489] Herbert of Bosham suggested that no stable personal relationships could survive in this arena.[490] Becket's

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[484] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 108.
[485] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 108.
[486] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 108.
[487] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 108-109.
[488] Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1996).
[489] Vincent, 'Court of Henry II', 298-299, 309.
[490] Vincent, 'Court of Henry II', 315-317. Vincent has pointed out both that magnates used violence to assert their status and that friendships ruined at court often underpinned Henry II's difficulties.

confessor claimed that Henry II had 'laid traps for him day and night': the royal court presented moral, as well as physical, dangers for the admonishing bishop.[491] Nonetheless, the reputation of such figures in the *vitae* was founded upon their assertion of authority over the court. It was where the bishop's influence counted and where he might make a king, 'to the astonishment of all, an altogether different person'.[492] A reputation as an intercessor, as Gilsdorf has recognised, was invaluable: Gundulf of Rochester's merits were discussed by the nobility 'in their conferences at the palace or elsewhere' for that very reason.[493] Exclusion from this place represented not only the usual mark of disfavour and exclusion, but also deprived the bishop of the opportunity to offer the oversight and correction regarded as so vital to the realm's prosperity.

Precisely because disagreements were meant to be settled in advance of public consultations, the manner of episcopal resistance to royal demands was all the more outrageous. As Eadmer noted, Oda of Canterbury was forced to become the 'public enemy' of Eadwig's sinful behaviour.[494] By their very nature, Hugh of Lincoln's acts of public defiance inflamed the wrath of king and metropolitan. Arriving late, bluntly refusing royal messengers, and leading public opposition might protect God's honour, but such tactics also insulted the king, personal access to whom was necessary to mitigate the consequences of such slights. Richard blamed Hugh for resisting royal demands, but also for the offence he had caused.[495] According to Gerald, Richard punished Hugh because he had been the public face of resistance and had 'publicly upheld the liberty of the church', concerned that other bishops might scheme against the king behind such boldness.[496] After all, when Hugh had been 'publicly asked to consent' to the new royal tax in an assembly of his peers, he had said nothing until Hubert Walter and Richard FitzNeal offered their support for the royal proposal, only then raising his objections. Small wonder that Hubert trembled with rage at such conduct. The archbishop completely lost control when the bishop of Salisbury backed Hugh's objections, because achieving consensus had now become an impossible task.[497] Objections were meant to be settled in advance of such assemblies, not raised halfway through them, slighting those who had already offered their assent. Intriguingly, royal servants were vilified

[491] *Lives of Thomas Becket*, 50. *MTB* 3: 21 'Super quo et rex ipse diurnas ei et nocturnas tendebat insidias'.
[492] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, 24; edition 23 'omnino quam esse solebat stupentibus cunctis fieret alius'.
[493] *Life of Gundulf*, 59 'et cum de aliis nobilibus terrae in palatio aut alibi in collectionibus eorum fieret mentio'.
[494] Eadmer, *Vita Odonis*, 26-27.
[495] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 26-27.
[496] Gerald of Wales, *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 26-29.
[497] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 99.

for comparable insolence and lack of deference. They mimicked their episcopal opponents in this respect, but, crucially, lacked the divine mandate or virtuous purpose of the prelates extolled by their biographers.

Furthermore, the public element of these encounters carries clues as to why royal actions were considered especially remarkable or shameful. Dunstan supported Edward's claim to the throne by grabbing the banner of the Holy Cross and defeating the objections of the nobility, an example of dramatic defiance foreshadowing later episcopal behaviour under the Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings.[498] More often, the timing of specific acts of royal behaviour demonstrated a sinful king's contempt for his magnates and clergy. Eadwig did not feel any shame withdrawing from his coronation feast, despite the fact that his actions, as Eadmer emphasised, made the nobility 'most indignant'.[499] As the earlier *Vita Dunstani* by author B noted, Archbishop Oda haad observed such behaviour 'was offensive to all the lords'. Eadwig should have been 'sitting here with his retinue, as is only proper, at this royal feast'.[500] Given the importance attached to such events, and even one's placement during the meal itself, such behaviour was all the more shameful. Dunstan and Cynsige were ordered to return Eadwig specifically to his 'proper place' and to remind him of the shame his actions incurred.[501] The king was unfit to rule, not just because of his sinful behaviour, but because of the disrespect such actions exhibited. As Eadmer emphasised, it had been 'in sight of the entire church' that Eadwig had 'stamped himself and the glorious occasion with shameful ignominy', an event that 'weighed upon the minds of those sitting there with great grief and shame'.[502] It was an equally disastrous portent that the infant Æthelred II had interrupted another religious ceremony, his own baptism, by opening his bowels at the very moment of his entry into the Christian community and while 'surrounded by bishops'.[503] The reaction of onlookers to King John's more deliberate interruptions of rituals were carefully recorded by Adam of Eynsham. When John had played with his Easter offering before Hugh, he had been 'surrounded by a large group of nobles' and 'everyone gaped at him in amazement' with the bishop 'annoyed at such behaviour at this particular time and place'.[504] Likewise, at John's installation as duke of Normandy, it was 'almost the whole assembly' who declared the

[498] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 144-145.
[499] Eadmer *Vita Dunstani*, 96-97
[500] B, *Vita Dunstani*, 68-69.
[501] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 227.
[502] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, 96-97; Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis*, 26-27.
[503] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, 273-275.
[504] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 142.

accident with the ducal lance to be a bad portent.[505] References to the importance of such public reactions are indeed ubiquitous. The community at Winchester had been terrified that Hugh would decline the king's gift *in public*.[506] The same bishop's physical pursuit of the kiss of peace was witnessed by seven bishops, according to the *Magna Vita*, who were subsequently anxious to include Hugh among their number. When it came to wrestling concessions from kings, the more public the guarantees the better: Anselm made Rufus give his bishops as sureties, send representatives to make a vow before the altar, and confirm and seal a written proclamation. Such public demonstrations of a change in royal behaviour, even if temporary, prompted widespread rejoicing.[507] Even private criticisms had an audience: the royal court would clearly witness that the bishop was able to draw the king aside for the confidential discussions denied to others. Awareness of that audience was itself a factor in how one should respond. When defied by Anselm, Rufus, according to Malmesbury, had 'choked back his anger for fear of a worse scene'.[508] As the same author pointed out with Frederick of Utrecht's admonition of Louis the Pious, 'words blurted out in the presence of so many courtiers could not be hushed up'.[509] Slights to royal and episcopal honour, and the flouting of political conventions, mattered because they were part of a public form of political communication witnessed by a significant and influential elite. The authors of the *vitae* recognised that, before such an audience, one observer's forceful episcopal censure might well be another's blunt and arrogant disrespect for the king's majesty.

Conclusion

In William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum,* St Cuthbert appeared to King Alfred to explain that the English had been paying for their sins by their recent suffering. Because of the 'merits of her home-bred saints', however, God would allow Alfred to reign again. This mercy was conditional: the prosperity of Alfred's successors, Cuthbert warned, was dependent on them retaining the favour of God and his saints.[510] The latter had saved the English from annihilation. The *vitae* surveyed in this chapter considered the relationship between the king and his episcopate to be equally central to the realm's prosperity. The

[505] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 144.
[506] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 87-88.
[507] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 31-32; Eadmer, *History of Revent Events in England*, 32-33; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 107-109.
[508] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 138-139.
[509] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 16-17.
[510] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 409-411.

correction of kings was judged as not only integral to the very definition of episcopal office, but as essential to the well-being of both ruler and kingdom. While Dunstan provided the model exemplar in this regard, the importance of fatherly episcopal correction to wayward royal sons emerges across the *vitae*. That criticism concerned both the king's personal morality, but increasingly too his infringements on church liberties. The portrayal of these encounters, while often formulaic, could be reflective, adapting and rewriting earlier sources, or displaying a marked sympathy for the predicament of even sinful kings and their servants. While such correction could be forceful, and certainly was when compared to elsewhere in the Latin West, restraint, courtesy, and humour were equally vital tools in the battle for the king's soul, precisely because they allowed room for repentance and atonement. Becket may have invoked a specifically Canterbury tradition of episcopal resistance to royal demands, but this was a duty shared by the English episcopate as a whole. Their opponents represented an inversion of the episcopate's role: they used their seductive blandishments to encourage, rather than restrain, royal sin. Their influence disguised the truth, shielding kings from direct blame for their actions, while pointing to the fundamental importance of moral oversight of the royal court. A true bishop fought in this arena, despite the moral and physical dangers it presented, even if his 'false brothers' were too timid to follow suit. The broader partnership between kings and their episcopal advisors was thought of as crucial to the realm's governance, not least in the exercise of royal justice. The king's participation in the moral progress of his people, it must be stressed, was regarded as central. The benefits of episcopal influence spread from him to the rest of the realm, highlighting his importance as a conduit to the moral quality of his subjects.

Where possible, the authors of the *vitae* undoubtedly exaggerated royal subordination to bishops. They made kings dependent on episcopal support, a phenomenon that we already encountered in the last chapter in the context of military campaigns. That reliance again highlighted the importance of episcopal counsel: in its absence, kings faced death, destruction, and defeat. Marks of royal respect, and the punishments that ensued from withholding them, were equally dramatic, physical, and public. The obligation of moral oversight included using moments of royal weakness to extract concessions that would bind kings to more virtuous behaviour in the future. The coronation oath may represent an especially important moment in this regard, but it was certainly not unique. When that oversight failed, resistance to royal power was considered a further hallmark of ideal episcopal conduct. The ever-growing scale of royal government perhaps gave Adam of

Eynsham more to complain about than our earlier authors. The exemptions won by bishops such as Hugh of Lincoln and Ralph of Selsey were contrasted with the actions of those, such as Hubert Walter, who obeyed kings without question and thus neglected their office. Although royal authority was cast in a negative and sinful light in such moments, authors could also recognise the underlying reasons for Angevin avarice. Dialogue with, and mutual respect for, royal agents remained possible. Though kings were responsible for the conduct of their officials, an important distinction remained between the two.

Episcopal biographers in England provided ample evidence for the consequences of royal wrath, highlighting the insults, threats, and intimidation which prelates endured in a realm in which the king was very much master of the Church. Nonetheless, displays of royal anger were rarely portrayed as without cause. In a society in which frank debate, direct and unsolicited requests, and public confrontations were all considered insults to another's honour, the daring and righteous behaviour of these bishops was easily regarded as threatening a king's dignity, honour, and rights. Bishops were considered extraordinary if, unlike normal attendees at court, they could break the conventions of etiquette with impunity. Rather than offending kings out of ignorance or political stupidity, their directness was a necessary consequence of the duties inherent in their office. Among the greatest crimes these authors attributed to kings was crucially their *public* irreverence for God and his Church, and the shame this brought upon the wider community of the realm. The audience for such behaviour mattered because it was the same spectators who witnessed public concessions made to royal, episcopal, and divine honour, and who would also react with shock when open conflict broke out. The *vitae* therefore dwell on royal court both because moral oversight of that arena mattered, but furthermore because it was there that bishops demonstrated their authority by flouting the norms that governed lesser men when confronted by the Lord's Anointed. In short, the features brought to the fore by *vitae* in relation to English kingship were: episcopal counsel, criticism, and resistance; the connection of all three to the prosperity of king and realm; and the significance of threats, honour, and shame in the avowedly public setting created by the all-important royal court. In all this, as we shall see in the final chapter, the contrast with the twelfth-century Germany could not be greater.

Chapter 4: Kingship in the twelfth-century German episcopal *vitae* and *gesta*

Introduction

Twelfth-century German *vitae* and *gesta*, and their portrayals of kingship, have received far greater attention than their English counterparts. Dirk Schlochtermeyer examined late eleventh and twelfth-century *gesta episcoporum* from Eichstätt, Hildesheim, Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Merseburg, Metz, and Toul. He argued that the Investiture Contest had acted as a catalyst for the composition of the *gesta,* forcing communities to turn towards the diocese's past. Demonstrating the close relationship of the bishopric to kings was intended to strengthen the community's self-confidence and self-awareness. The authors of the *gesta,* Schlochtermeyer suggested, sought to give future bishops a mandate for action (*Handlungsauftrag*) by advising them as to how they could best maintain the bishopric's honour in an uncertain future.[1] Stephanie Coué's examination of eight eleventh and twelfth-century German *vitae* similarly regarded the texts as 'instruments of power', used to emphasise institutional prestige, inspire future behaviour, and as 'action-oriented... spiritual weapons' to solve disputes.[2]

The most detailed study of the *vitae* has been undertaken by Stephanie Haarländer, who examined 55 episcopal biographies produced under the Ottonian and Salian kings.[3] She suggested that, while royal documents demonstrate the reliance of German kings on their episcopate, the *vitae* provide historians with the colour and detail to flesh out this relationship.[4] Haarländer explored royal-episcopal interactions in the *vitae* chronologically, from Henry I (r. 919-936) to Conrad III (r. 1138-1152), concluding that episcopal biographers

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[1] Dirk Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters: Die politische Instrumentalisierung von Geschichtsschreibung* (Paderborn, 1998), 175, 178-80.

[2] Stephanie Coué, *Hagiographie im Kontext. Schreibanlaß und Funktion von Bischofsviten aus dem 11. und vom Anfrang des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin & New York, 1997), 24, 127-145, 146-174 for summary. The twelfth-century *Vita Altmanni*, for instance sought to remind Reginbert of Passau (1138-1148) to be generous to Altmann's monastic foundation at Göttweig while the twelfth-century *Vita Annonis Minor* of Anno II of Cologne (1056-1075) responded to criticisms of the archbishop's ambition by highlighting how reform had spread from his monastic foundation (and finaly resting place) at Siegburg.

[3] Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart, 2000).

[4] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 312; Leo Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems* (Vienna, 1964), especially 78-115; Herbert Zielinski, *Der Reichsepiskopat in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit (1002-1135)* (Wiesbaden, 1984).

were 'not concerned with the history of the Empire'.[5] They missed out important details, misunderstood the wider context, and portrayed royal-episcopal interactions as timeless, akin to a 'performance test' for the bishop.[6] Her examination illustrated, however, that each ruler had his own profile and received similar comments from both contemporary and later biographers.[7] More generally, authors of the *vitae* viewed a king in positive terms if he enjoyed a relationship with his bishop characterised by trust, friendship, and familiarity: the king should take care not to overburden his episcopate with improper demands. The bishop, in turn, fulfilled a moral obligation summarised by Matthew 22:21. Reflecting the right order of the world, such a partnership would profit the monasteries and cathedral chapters in which *vitae* were produced. Deviations from that ideal, most notably the Investiture Contest, caused authors to lament and yearn for a lost golden age.[8]

Previous examinations of the episcopal *vitae* have focused on chronological change, especially between the Ottonian and Salian dynasties (c. 919-1024 and 1024-1125). According to Oskar Köhler, whose 1935 study of the *vitae* is often cited but rarely engaged with,[9] the political and spiritual spheres, once compatible under the Ottonians, drifted apart as episcopal biographers became less interested in an imperial ideal and more concerned with territorialisation.[10] After the Investiture Contest had robbed kings of their sacrality, according to Köhler, royal service became a means by which the bishop could secure the freedom and enrichment of his diocese.[11] The secularised empire, no longer a 'self-evident spiritual-

[5] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 377 'Den Vitenautoren geht es nicht um Reichsgeschichte'.
[6] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 377.
[7] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 378.
[8] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 378.
[9] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 363 n. 307 noted that Köhler spoke too generally of a change in direction after the Investiture Contest from the earthly to the heavenly king and argued that he was unclear whether this referred to the period of composition of the author, the life-time of the bishop, or how this was affected by individual authors. For citations of Köhler's work with less thorough engagement see, for example, Odilo Engels, 'Der Reichsbischof in ottonischer und frühsalischer Zeit', in *Beiträge zu Geschichte und Struktur der mittelalterlichen Germania Sacra* ed. Irene Crusius (Göttingen, 1989), 135-175, at 136-137; Stephanie Coué, 'Acht Bischofsviten aus der Salierzeit, neu Interpretiert', in *Die Salier und das Reich* vol. 3, ed. Stefan Weinfurter (Sigmaringen, 1992), 347-414, at 348; Timothy Reuter, '"Filii matris nostrae pugnant adversum nos": Bonds and Tensions between Prelates and their "milites" in the German High Middle Ages', in *Chiesa e mondo feudale nei secoli X-XII. Atti della dodicesima Settimana internazionale di studio. Mendola 24-28 agosto* (Milan, 1992), 241-276, at 248; Hans-Werner Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2008), 285; Jan Ulrich Keupp, 'Die zwei Schwerter des Bischofs: von Kriegsherren und Seelenhirten im Reichsepiskopat der Stauferzeit', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 117 (2006), 1-24, at 5; John S. Ott, '"Both Mary and Martha": Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai and the Construction of Episcopal Sanctity in a Border Diocese Around 1100', in *The Bishop Reformed. Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle* Ages, ed. John S. Ott and Anna T. Jones (Aldershot, 2007), 137-160, at n. 12.
[10] Oskar Köhler, *Das Bild des geistlichen Fürsten in den Viten des 10., 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), 119.
[11] Köhler, *Das Bild*, 77-78, 89.

political unity', was now of second importance and the bishop should only attend the royal court out of a commitment to his diocese.[12] The episcopate, once the bedrock of the Empire's unity in the face of the ambitions of the secular nobility, were now themselves territorial lords, serving the Heavenly, rather than earthly, king. The focus of the *vitae* narrowed to the diocese as a consequence, an attitude, Köhler suggested, that seems 'only petty and as a sign of a limited mind' when compared to the co-operation between prelate and emperor praised in the Ottonian *vitae*.[13] As Köhler noted, Udalrich of Augsburg (r. 923-973) defended the kingdom where Albero of Trier (r. 1132-1152) defended his castles.[14] The 'clear divorce' between *regnum* and *sacerdotium,* the decline of royal service as an ideal, and the 'gradual emptying of the idea of empire', had destroyed the old partnership.[15] The king's cause had been 'politicised': unlike in the Ottonian *vitae*, the *pax regis* could now be judged as in contradiction to *iustitia.* The twelfth-century *vitae,* in Köhler's view, thus recorded a greater conditionality with regard to royal service and greater criticism of the royal court amid a growing gulf between German kings and their episcopates.[16]

Köhler's conclusions are not dissimilar to those reached in more recent studies undertaken by Odilo Engels. He suggested that an Ottonian understanding of episcopal office, which allowed and encouraged royal service and participation in imperial affairs, was challenged by new ideas emanating from the papal reform movement.[17] This shift, which began to emerge in the last quarter of the eleventh century, was attributed by Engels to factors as diverse as a growing population, more intensive economic activity, the Investiture Contest, the influence of church reform, the challenge to monastic spirituality, and the growth in episcopal authority as dioceses themselves became territorial principalities.[18] The late eleventh century represented a turning point, linked by Engels to the desacralisation of the German kings.[19] Timothy Reuter agreed with this assessment, but questioned how far the

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[12] Köhler, *Das Bild,* 92-95.
[13] Köhler, *Das Bild,* 92-93, 95-97.
[14] Köhler, *Das Bild,* 100, 112.
[15] Köhler, *Das Bild,* 95-97.
[16] Köhler, *Das Bild,* esp. 97-98, 120-138.
[17] Engels' focus was primarily the tenth and eleventh centuries, but included twelfth-century examples. Odilo Engels, 'Der Reichsbischof (10. und 11. Jahrhundert)', in *Der Bischof in seiner Zeit. Bischofstypus und Bischofsideal im Spiegel der Kölner Kirche. Festgabe Joseph Kardinal Höffner,* ed. Peter Berglar and Odilo Engels (Cologne, 1986), 41-94, especially 54, 58-59; Engels, 'Der Reichsbischof in ottonischer und frühsalischer Zeit', 135-175, especially 136-137, 154. In addition, Engels also argued that the earlier *vitae* were more reserved towards kings, a reflection of the monastic episcopacy's antipathy towards worldly affairs
[18] Engels, 'Der Reichsbischof (10. und 11. Jahrhundert)', 63.
[19] Engels, 'Der Reichsbischof in ottonischer und frühsalischer Zeit', 172; Engels, 'Der Reichsbischof (10. und 11. Jahrhundert)', 84. All this, Engels suggested, was a counterpart to the concurrent aspirations of the nobility for greater independence from the king. See also John Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in*

vitae reflected any underlying social reality. He instead stressed the persistence of monastic ideals, and argued for a shift in emphasis, rather than a large-scale transformation.[20]

Underpinning many of these assessments is the assumption that the Investiture Contest had a transformative impact on the sacrality of kings and on royal control of the episcopate.[21] The conflict is regarded as no less decisive for an accompanying desacralisation of the episcopate. Like the studies cited above, Thomas Wünsch argued that the Investiture Contest had deprived German kings of their sacrality and the 'spiritual assurance' that justified episcopal service. There was a 'privatisation' of the political and secular aspects of episcopal behaviour, as a consequence. They now mattered only in the context of a bishop's personal authority, rather than in relation to the kingdom. Once bishops became territorial princes, it became harder to call them saints.[22] In a similar fashion, Stefan Burkhardt, in his analysis of the twelfth-century archbishops of Mainz and Cologne, suggested that after the Concordat of Worms the relationship between kings and the Church was in limbo and the values of episcopacy and sainthood increasingly at odds. The ideal bishop was now a 'judicially skilled administrative expert, the skilful networker, and the brilliant diplomat – in short, a man who knew how to rule and retain sovereignty – the honour of the diocese'.[23] Burkhardt's summary is not dissimilar to Reuter's remark that the post-Gregorian period saw

the German Empire (New York, 2012), 59-61 who provides an example of how an author might rewrite an episcopal biography to make kings less important. We have found no similar examples in what follows.

[20] Reuter, '"Filii matris', 273-276.

[21] Johannes Fried, *Canossa: Entlarvung einer Legende; eine Streitschrift* (Berlin, 2012). Although Johannes Fried reinterpreted Canossa, by portraying it as a political summit preceded by considerable diplomatic preparation, he did not question the subsequent importance of the event. See also in the discussion in the Introduction above and especially Stefan Weinfurter, *Canossa: Die Entzauberung der Welt* (Munich, 2006); Timothy Reuter, 'Contextualising Canossa: Excommunication, Penance, Surrender, Reconciliation', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 147-166, at 148; Gerd Althoff, 'Das hochmittelalterliche Königtum', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 45 (2011), 77-98 at 78. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia,/PA, 1988), 168, for example, claimed that the Investiture Contest blunted the 'claws of theocratic kingship'. See also the references in Ian Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (Cambridge, 1999), 6 where Robinson claimed that the challenge to investiture cast doubt on the king's 'sacral aura', destroyed the 'harmony of the ecclesiastical and secular spheres', and depriving the 'Imperial Church System' of its own internal justification. See, though the challenges, cited in the Introduction, in particular, Ludger Körntgen, 'Der Investiturstreit und das Verhältnis von Religion und Politik im Frühmittelalter', in *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter: Deutschland und England im Vergleich*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominic Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2013), 89-115 as well as Ludger Körntgen, 'Herrscherbild im Wandel – Ein Neuansatz in staufischer Zeit', in *Barbarossa Bilder. Entstehungskontexte, Erwartungshorizonte, Verwendungszusammenhänge*, ed. Knut Görich and Romedio Schmitz-Esser (Regensburg, 2014), 32-45, which includes at 34 and 43-45 a summary of previous research positing a desacralisation.

[22] Thomas Wünsch, 'Der heilige Bischof - Zur politischen Dimension von Heiligkeit im Mittelalter und ihrem Wandel', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 82 (2000), 261-302, at 268, 298-302.

[23] Stefan Burkhardt, *Mit Stab und Schwert: Bilder, Träger und Funktionen erzbischöflicher Herrschaft zur Zeit Friedrich Barbarossas; Die Erzbistümer Köln und Mainz im Vergleich* (Stuttgart, 2008), 30.

the 'patriarchal figures of the tenth and eleventh centuries... replaced by managers with an MBA'.[24]

As will have become clear, previous interpretations have focused on change over time, emphasising the contrast between the twelfth century and the close co-operation between kings and prelates thought to have characterised the Ottonian period in particular and the early Middle Ages in general. The Investiture Contest, by desacralising both kings and the episcopate, created a gap between political/royal and spiritual/episcopal spheres reflected in the more local, limited, and reserved approach towards kings and emperors adopted by biographers of bishops. The Investiture Contest is regarded as a *causa scribendi*, with the authors of both *gesta episcoporum* and *vitae* characterised as yearning for an ideal status quo ante. Royal service, the royal court, and kings themselves, all faced greater criticism under the combined weight of the Investiture Contest, desacralisation, and a growing princely self-consciousness that accompanied territorialisation.

The studies quoted so far have several limitations. First, they have focused on the period 950-1150. By limiting coverage to the first half of the twelfth century, it was possible to construct narratives concerned with territorialisation, desacralisation, and the decline of royal authority, seen as inevitable after the Investiture Contest. By contrast, the years after 1150, which witnessed a revival of royal authority and royal-episcopal co-operation, have largely been ignored. There is thus a danger that the early twelfth-century *vitae* are regarded as representative of what followed thereafter. Although rather fewer *vitae* were produced in the second half of the twelfth century, they nonetheless offer a rather different image of royal-episcopal relations. Second, these studies have treated *vitae* and *gesta* in isolation from one another, with no attempt to analyse and compare the portrayal of twelfth-century kingship that emerges from this corpus of texts as a whole. These sources came from the same religious communities, were written by the same authors, and, as far as we can tell, were written for similar audiences and purposes. Examining them together allows us to form a more comprehensive picture of how these communities reacted to kings, royal service, and the Investiture Contest. Third, although much attention has been paid to how the images of kingship in the *vitae* changed over time, there have been few attempts to compare such images within the same period alongside one another. Instead the portrayal of royal and

[24] Timothy Reuter, 'A Europe of Bishops. The Age of Wulfstan of York and Burchard of Worms', in *Patterns of Episcopal Power. Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2011), 17-38 at 38.

episcopal behaviour promulgated by the *vitae* have been analysed as markers on the road to prince-bishoprics, distant and weak kings, and a royal-episcopal divide. Was the conditionality these studies have claimed was attached by twelfth-century authors to royal service in fact typical? What themes emerge from the collective reaction of these authors to the Investiture Contest, Henry IV, the royal court, and the impact of royal authority within the diocese? What follows takes a more thematic approach, considers both *vitae* and *gesta*, and consults a far wider range of works from both genres. Finally, and most strikingly, no previous study has attempted to compare these sources to comparable texts produced beyond the Empire.[25] We thus have no sense of what was peculiar to the image of kingship that emerged from these communities or of how far they were affected by the specific context of the Empire's political structures, culture, or processes.

As we saw in the last chapter, many of the English *vitae* put forth an image of episcopal authority especially concerned with resisting royal tyranny and correcting the moral and sexual misdemeanours of kings. They emphasise that the royal-episcopal partnership lay at the heart of the realm's prosperity and that kings themselves were dependent on episcopal support and approval. By undertaking a thematic analysis of the portrayal of kingship in the *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum* produced in twelfth-century Germany, we will demonstrate how very different patterns of episcopal and royal behaviour emerged to those discussed in England. Unlike their English counterparts, German writers often sought to downplay examples of episcopal criticism of kings or resistance towards royal tyranny. Episcopal *admonitio* is absent or highly qualified, barring a few exceptions. The royal court, and the political and moral importance it took on in our English examples, is equally notable by its absence. No connection was made by the German authors between the moral purity of the court and the prosperity of the German kings, still less that of the realm itself. Royal authority was certainly not, however, irrelevant: the German *vitae* and *gesta* reveal a sustained interest in kings, royal history, and royal connections. Moreover, as we shall see, these authors responded to the Investiture Contest in far more ambiguous, and nuanced ways than previous interpretations have allowed. Far from being viewed as a great clash between royal and papal power, the dispute was, in fact, ignored, reinterpreted, downplayed, or regarded as an opportunity for institutional gain. Bishops were sometimes characterised as warriors,

[25] With the partial exception of Björn Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings in England, c. 1066 – c. 1215', in *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter: Deutschland und England im Vergleich*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2013), 157–204, specifically at 173-179.

defending church liberty against royal persecution, but they were portrayed far more often as doing their best to avoid, rather than confront, royal tyranny. This establishes a striking contrast, not only with the prevailing image created of these texts by the German-language scholarship, but furthermore with the English *vitae* produced in the twelfth century.

Writing the history of kings

Haarländer has pointed to recurring patterns of praise and condemnation of kings in the *vitae* of Ottonian and Salian bishops. This section draws upon her findings. In addition, though, it combines an examination of the *vitae* with that of *gesta*, and shifts the focus to how rulers were portrayed in their own right (as opposed to merely in relation to the bishops with whom they interacted). It will explore how twelfth-century authors viewed the German kings of the past, what aspects of their reigns were deemed worthy of praise, and which were criticised. This approach allows us to glimpse the place of kings in the twelfth-century cultural memory of these religious communities, and demonstrate whether authors in Germany, as in England, looked back to a particular period as a golden age.

Ottonian kings received a mixed, but largely positive, assessment. As will be discussed in greater detail below, Otto I's reign (r. 963-979), like that of King Edgar in England, was certainly viewed as a period of unparalleled prosperity by these authors. The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, written in the eleventh century, praised him as 'the most blessed emperor, most faithful defender, model of justice, devoted cultivator of the church, the hope of peace, the lover of religion'.[26] The *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, composed around 1142, recorded that Otto I celebrated Palm Sunday at Magdeburg, attending Mass accompanied by the clergy, and enriching the see with relics from Italy.[27] His successor, Otto II (r. 961-983), received greater criticism. The Magdeburg *Gesta* lamented that, during his reign, the foundations of justice laid by his father were despised, while the Church and the poor were oppressed.[28] The king 'in his unbridled youth... despised the sound advice of his elders' and, 'not led by any teacher', indulged in the pursuit of pleasure and in

[26] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai: Translation and Commentary,* trans. Bernard S. Bachrach, David S. Bachrach, and Michael Leese (New York, 2018), 94; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 439 Otto imperator sanctissimus, tutor fidissimus, norma iustitiae, cultor devotus ecclesiae, spes pacis, amator religionis...'.
[27] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium, MGH* SS 14, 384; The *Gesta* added that Otto merited the title of 'the Great' because of his deeds, describing how he put all his efforts into spreading the faith due to his fear of God. *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 376.
[28] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 385.

error.[29] Still, the *Gesta* noted Otto's generosity to the Church, exemplified by granting Magdeburg the right of free election, and by donating a precious manuscript containing a portrait of himself and his queen.[30] The Cambrai *Gesta* offered an equally mixed portrayal: in his youth, Otto II had acted 'somewhat tyrannically', but nonetheless 'gave good counsel, was energetic in the conduct of war' and eventually 'became a close imitator of his father not only in his name, but in his manner of life'.[31] The *Vita Meinwerci,* of Meinwerk of Paderborn (r. 1009-1036), written 1155 x 1165, was more enthusiastic, praising Otto II's merits and how he 'energetically governed the Roman Empire, was strong in arms, of true Catholic faith, and no less devoted to divine than human affairs'.[32] Otto III (r. 983-1002) was praised by the Magdeburg *Gesta* as an 'adornment of the realm, the pursuer of justice' who died too early, while the *Vita Meinwerci* claimed that he followed the virtue and zeal of his father.[33] As Haarländer noted, there was no sense in the *vitae* that Otto III was indebted to notions of Byzantine rulership, though the *Vita Lietberti,* of Lietbert of Cambrai (1051-1076), written 1092 x 1133 (probably around c. 1100) condemned his preference for Roman favourites and accused him of youthful ambition.[34] Though these comments were often formulaic, episcopal biographers nonetheless paused to assess kings, even where the ruler's actions were not related back to any impact on the diocese itself or the bishop under discussion.

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[29] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 385. 'Iuventus quippe regis effrena sana seniorum spernebat consilia, dumque omne quod libet licere credit, viam erroris sine magistro ductus currit'.

[30] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 385 for the author's borrowings from Thietmar of Merseburg and Bruno of Querfurt's *Vita Adalberti*.

[31] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 95; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 439 'Post cuius excessum Otto filius suus gloriosissimus, licet primaevo flore tyrunculus, tamen consilio bonus, bello strenuus, et ut paucis concludam, patris tam et moribus quam nomine imitator simillimus, habenas imperii moderandas suscepit'.

[32] *Vita Meinwerci episcopi Patherbrunnensis. Das Leben Bischof Meinwerks von Paderborn: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar,* ed. and trans. Guido M. Berndt (Munich, 2009), 70-71 'Eo tempore monarchiam Romani imperii Otto eiusdem nominis secundus strennue gubernabat, armis strennuus, fide catholicus, non minus divinis quam humanis rebus deditus'. As Haarländer pointed out, the king received considerable criticism from earlier episcopal biographers for dissolving the diocese of Merseburg, an act which insulted St Lawrence and was said to have brought about his defeat in southern Italy. Although, unlike his father, there were few accounts of Otto II taking bishops as companions, a twelfth-century life of Gebhard of Constance (979-995), written before 1134, named the bishop as a *compater* of the king. See Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 319-320; *Vita Gebehardi episcopi Constantiensis,* MGH SS 10, 585.

[33] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 390 'decus imperii, sectator iusticie, heu! immatura morte defungitur'; *Vita Meinwerci,* 70-71.

[34] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 321-322; *Vita Lietberti,* written 1092-1133, MGH SS 30:2, 843. On Lietbert of Cambrai and the *vita* more generally, see Ott, '"Both Mary and Martha": Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai and the Construction of Episcopal Sanctity in a Border Diocese around 1100', 137-160; John S Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community in North-Western Europe, c.1050-1150* (New York, 2015),197-221.

Henry II's (r. 1002-1024) virtues and deeds received far greater attention than those of any other ruler. The Magdeburg *Gesta* called him an 'outstanding supporter of justice and religious faith'.[35] The *Vita Lietberti* noted how the:

> 'title of his name shows how prudently, how bravely, how peacefully, how Catholically he ruled his empire: for this he was named not only augustus and emperor, but also orthodox and peaceable.'

Henry's mercy and restraint received particular praise: he served religion, not the 'the fury of Mars', and the Christian world celebrated being 'sustained by the arms of the peaceable king'.[36] Reiner of St Laurent, in his *Life* of Woboldo of Liège (1018-1021), written 1161 x 1187, claimed that, when appointing bishops, Henry showed concern for the welfare of Empire and Church.[37] On his succession, the *Vita Meinwerci* described the king's wealth and scholarly ability, calling him an 'outstanding man in ecclesiastical perfection'.[38]

Given such comments, it is perhaps unsurprising that Henry II is the only ruler claimed to have shown a keen interest in standards within the Church itself. The Cambrai *Gesta* explained the dilemma of bishop-elect Gerhard (r. 1012-1051), who 'understood with the shrewdness of a Lotharingian that it would be more honourable and appropriate to his station to be ordained with all the ceremony of the royal court', but nonetheless wished to be ordained by his metropolitan, the archbishop of Rheims. Henry, recognising Gerhard's wisdom, agreed but not before providing a book to ensure he would 'not be ordained in an irregular manner using the disorganised customs of the Carlings'.[39] The *Vita Meinwerci*, in

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[35] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 391 'cultor equitatis et religionis divine precipuus extitit...'.

[36] *Vita Lietberti*, MGH SS 30:2, 843: 'Qui quam prudenter, quam fortiter, quam pacifice, quam catholice suum rexit imperium, monstrat nominis ipsius intitulatio, per quam non modo augustus et imperator, sed insuper orthodoxus atque pacificus attitulatur. Sedatis sine sanguine hostibus sibi suoque potens vixit imperio, plus paci et pietati studens quam maliciae, plus catholicae et apostolicae religioni serviens quam furori Martio'. See Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 330.

[37] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 330; *Vita Wolbodonis*, written 1161-1187, in MGH SS 20, 566.

[38] *Vita Meinwerci,* 78-79: 'vir in omni perfectione ecclesiastica precipuus'.

[39] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 186-187; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 486: 'Qui etsi honorabilius et disciplinatius coram regia pompa et Lothariensi sollertia sciret se ordinandum: tamen loci amore, quo nutritus fuerat, captus, a nullo quidem nisi a metropolitano Remensium archiepiscopo se ordinatum iri velle respondit; quippe satis provide ac conpetenter causam considerans, ne forte videlicet eo etiam ipse consuetudini sedis metropolitanae contraire videretur, quod domus Erluinus episcopus ob supradictam contentionem, Romae ordinationem susceperat. Quo audito imperator altioris consilii illum advertens, libenter acquievit, dataque reditus licentia, largitus est ei librum consecrationes clericorum et ordinationem episcopi continentem, ut per hunc videlicet consecratus, haud fortasse quidem indisciplinatis moribus Karlensium inregulariter ordinaretur'.

turn, claimed that the hermit Haimerad was beaten at Henry II's order because the ruler shared the righteous zeal and suspicion Meinwerk had of the wandering preacher.[40]

The authors of the *vitae* included several further anecdotes, irrelevant to their bishops, but which illustrated Henry II's piety. Both the *Vita Meinwerci* and Rupert of Deutz's *Vita Heriberti* (concerning Heribert, archbishop of Cologne between 999 and 1021, written c. 1119) made clear that the king never made a decision without first seeking divine approval through fasts and alms-giving.[41] Both reported an episode first recounted in Lantbert's eleventh-century *Miracles of St Heribert*, in which the emperor honoured the saint with alms, masses, and prayers, having dishonoured him in life by stealing his belt.[42] The *Vita Meinwerci* in addition recorded a vision received by the emperor when suffering from kidney stones while campaigning in Italy. When he beseeched St Benedict and St Scholastica to restore his health at Monte Cassino, the former appeared to him in a dream and cut out the stone, leaving it in the emperor's hand. The incident persuaded the king to serve St Benedict, proclaiming himself a 'benevolent and humble father to the augmentation and preservation of ecclesiastical possessions'. He was then crowned emperor in Rome and informed the Pope of the honour accorded to him by St Benedict.[43] The *Vita* explained that, because Henry knew he would have no children, he instead constantly sought to enrich God's churches, burning with zeal for eternal life.[44] After one Christmas court, Henry 'left signs of virtue and faith everywhere, commending himself to the prayers in all the dwellings of the servants of God', including Cluny, where, among other gifts, he presented a magnificent golden crown to the monks, committed himself to their fraternity, before helping Meinwerk establish the monastery of Abingdhof (where the *Vita Meinwerci* was likely written).[45] The author concluded that the world was not worthy of such an emperor, who received a heavenly reward for his labours.[46] Writing a decade or so after Henry's canonisation, the *Vita*

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[40] *Vita Meinwerci*, 88-92.
[41] *Vita Meinwerci*, 196-197; Written circa 1119, Rupert of Deutz, *Vita Heriberti: Kritische Edition mit Kommentar und Untersuchungen von Peter Dinter* (Bonn, 1976), 71.
[42] Lambert's *Miracula s. Heriberti*, MGH SS 15:2, 1247-1248; Rupert of Deutz, *Vita Heriberti*, 80-83; *Vita Meinwerci*, 200-203.
[43] *Vita Meinwerci*, 100-101 'Ab eo tempore et deinceps rex quadam speciali veneratione et devotione sancto Benedicto et omnibus monasticae religonis cultoribus studuit deservire et in amplificandis et protegendis rebus ecclesiasticis benignus et devotus pater existere'.
[44] *Vita Meinwerci*, 80-81.
[45] *Vita Meinwerci*, 106-107 'Dimisso autem imperator exercitu in terram suam, regni negotiis ubique prudenter dispositis, per omnia virtutis et pietatis vestigia dereliquit et, ubicumque servorum Dei habitacula invenisset, eorum res adaugens et amplificans omnium se orationibus commendavit'. The *Vita* also described how Henry defeated his enemies in Italy with the help of God and the saints. *Vita Meinwerci*, 108-109, 176-177.
[46] *Vita Meinwerci*, 222-223.

Meinwerci's enthusiasm for the king's education, theological knowledge, concern for his own salvation, and oversight of the Church is perhaps not so surprising. Nonetheless, these passages illustrate the extent to which, by the mid and late-twelfth century, episcopal biographers were still willing to praise such royal involvement.[47]

The degree of interest taken in Henry II, contrasts with the relative lack of comments regarding his Salian successors. The *Vita Meinwerci* noted, briefly, that Conrad II (r. 1024-1039) was one of the noblest in the empire, but highlighted too his hostility towards Meinwerk.[48] While comments on the remaining rulers of the period were sparse, they were certainly not invariably hostile. The first *Life* of Anno of Cologne (r. 1056-1075), written 1104/1105, claimed that Henry III (r. 1028-1056), like his forbear, did not act without confessing and repenting his sins and that Anno celebrated his memory after his death.[49] Henry III's piety, evident in the foundation of St Simon and St Jude at Goslar, was further praised by the *Vita Altmanni* of Altmann of Passau (r. 1065-1091), written 1132 x 1141, and the *Vita Bennonis,* the biography of Benno II of Osnabrück (r. 1068-1088), written 1090 x 1100.[50] The latter work even mentioned in passing Henry IV's (r. 1053-1105) ability to 'read and understand documents without assistance, no matter who they had come from'.[51] The portrayal of Henry IV will be discussed in greater detail below in relation to the Investiture Contest, but it is already clear that his characterisation was not uniformly hostile, despite the wealth of criticisms his behaviour accrued at the time.

At first sight the brief comments accorded to the Salians might seem to lend credence to the argument that episcopal biographers had gradually become more distant from the German kings. The picture is in fact rather more complex. Isolated comments relating to the Salians may be relatively few, but the same holds true of Otto II, Otto III, and, to an even greater extent, of Conrad II and the twelfth-century rulers who followed Henry V. There was thus no straightforward linear pattern, in this regard, that might correlate with any desacralisation of kingship or the growth of the territorial principalities. Haarländer was

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[47] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 333-335 pointed out that a broader pattern of praise for Henry II's piety and commitment to peace was exhibited well before the king's canonisation.
[48] *Vita Meinwerci,* 224-225.
[49] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 338; *Vita Annonis I,* MGH SS 11, 469-470.
[50] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 338; *Vita Altmanni episcopi pataviensis,* MGH SS 12, 229; *Vita Bennonis,* in *Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts,* trans. H. Kallfelz ed. Bresslau (Darmstadt, 1973), 380-381.
[51] *Vita Ottonis II,* MGH SS 12, 826-827.

certainly correct to suggest that there was something of a consensus in how the authors of the *vitae* treated particular rulers, but this statement is less true of Henry IV, as we will see below. It is worth reiterating, given the tendency among modern scholars to downplay the interest taken by these writers in kings and emperors, that they included assessments of the latter without relating them back to the bishop or diocese in question. It seems more likely that they were interested in royal deeds for their own sake. That this was the case becomes even clearer once we turn to the wider topic of what precisely was reported concerning royal and imperial affairs. Indeed, Haarländer's conclusion that episcopal biographers did not write about imperial history seems somewhat overstated.

That said, some authors felt no need to mention kings whatsoever or judged royal history as a theme inappropriate to the genre. Two Lives of Conrad of Constance (r. 934-975), written 1111 x 1123 and after 1127 respectively, a *Life* of Hartwig of Salzburg (r. 991-1023), written around 1181, and a *Life* of Odo of Cambrai (r. 1105-1113), composed 1113 x 1116, do not mention kings at all. Haarländer suggested that the gap of over 150 years, and the desire to establish a saint's cult, may explain the first three examples, whereas the fourth, which aimed to solicit prayers for the bishop, simply felt no need to discuss the Salian kings.[52] While this is plausible, chronological gaps posed no barrier to other biographers, both in Germany and England.[53] Occasionally, we do find more explicit refusals to write about kings. Lantbert, the first biographer of Heribert of Cologne (r. 999-1021), writing in the 1050s, claimed a description of the bishop's royal service in Italy would be more appropriate in a royal chronicle.[54] Bishop Gebhard of Augsburg (r. 996-1000), the author of the second *vita* of Ulrich of Augsburg (r. 923-973), written before the year 1000, further criticised *regum caesarumque historia*.[55] Such views were nonetheless very much the exception. Most strikingly, in the *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* the author interjected, amid a description of the pontificate of Archbishop Hartwig (r. 1079-1102) and the threats he faced from Henry IV, an account of William Rufus's death in the New Forest. After Henry I had founded a monastery for the salvation of his dead brother's soul, according to the *Gesta*,

[52] *Vita Chounradi episcopi Constantiensis*, written 1111-1123, and *Vita Chounradi episcopi Constantiensis II* written after 1127, *Vita Hartwici*, written circa 1181, *Vita Odonis*, written 1113-1116. See Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 313 n. 4, 513-515, 526-527.
[53] Paul Hayward, 'Translation Narratives in Post-Conquest Hagiography and English Resistance to the Norman Conquest' *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1999), 67-93.
[54] Lantbert's *Vita Heriberti* (999-1021), written 1050-1056, MGH SS 4, 742. 'Quotiens cum imperatore Romam ierit et redierit, utque augustus arcem imperii, res Italiae moderando, disposuerit, potius regiae videtur inscribendam chronicae, quam in laudem sancti violenter inflectere'; Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 314.
[55] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 73 n. 251; Vita Uodalrici II, MGH SS 4, 381.

Rufus appeared to Henry in a vision, riding two dragons, to claim that the gesture was fruitless as his own sinful behaviour had destroyed everything built up by his predecessors.[56] The ultimate source for the account, and the author's reason for including it, are unclear. It seems likely that it was recorded as a notable event, of general interest to the reader, and perhaps because Rufus's behaviour offered a rather indirect parallel to Archbishop Hartwig's misuse of his archdiocese's resources.

The *gesta* more generally, far from viewing royal deeds as inappropriate or irrelevant, went to considerable lengths to preserve their memory. Many borrowed extensively from other sources to do so, suggesting a proactive search for information and reliable accounts. The Magdeburg *Gesta* incorporated lengthy passages from Bruno of Merseburg's *Historia de Bello Saxonico*, most of them of little reference to the diocese.[57] The *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, preserved in a version completed around 1209 but based on earlier antecedents, included an even wider range of excerpts from Thietmar of Merseburg, Frutolf of Michelsberg, and Ekkehard of Aura. The late twelfth-century author provided an account of Frederick Barbarossa's siege of Milan, Rainald of Cologne's discovery of the three Magi, and Frederick's conquest of Italy and imperial coronation by Pope Adrian IV.[58] Clearly, the deeds of kings and emperors mattered, meriting inclusion even if of no particular relevance to an author's community or patrons.

The Cambrai *Gesta* is especially striking in this regard. The author described how Otto I's brother, Archbishop Bruno of Cologne, had corrected and exiled a certain Reginar for his attacks on Cologne.[59] After the death of Otto I, Reginar's sons returned and ravaged an area near the fortress of Boussoit, not far from Cambrai. Otto II besieged the fortress and exiled the rebels, the *Gesta* noting that Bishop Tetdo (r. 972–978/979) was present at the siege.[60] The conflict was relevant to Cambrai because of the bishop's involvement in the siege, but the author was more interested in contextualising the incident than the episcopal behaviour on display. Disorder, whether caused by the death of kings or otherwise, naturally

[56] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 404. The account was also included in the *Annalisto Saxo* and the annals of Magdeburg, but it is unclear whether they, or the archiepiscopal chronicle, were written first.
[57] The description of archbishop Werner's pontificate is supplemented by chapters 6, 26, 34, and 46 from Bruno's *Historia de Bello Saxonico*. With Hartwig's pontificate, chapters 117-131 were included. See *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 400-406.
[58] *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, MGH SS 23, 107-108.
[59] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 95; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 439-440.
[60] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 95; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 439-440.

drew the attention of episcopal chroniclers. The same author recorded the succession struggle between Otto II and duke Henry of Bavaria, before turning to how King Lothar had launched a surprise attack on the Empire, forcing Otto to abandon Aachen to the 'riotous and thieving Gauls'.[61] Otto then informed Lothar that, unlike him, he would not seek revenge through tricks or ambushes, but would depart on a set date to cripple his kingdom.[62] As promised, Otto devastated Lothar's realm but, emulating his father, respected and enlarged the churches while doing so. He also gathered as many priests as possible and had them sing *Alleluia te martyrum* for all Paris to hear.[63] Although this conflict was relevant to a frontier diocese, the detail accorded to the campaign, and Otto II's conduct, appear to have been included as a matter of general interest and as example of virtuous royal behaviour to contrast with the Empire's opponents.

It is even more difficult to establish a connection between the diocese and the events recorded once the *Gesta* turned to affairs in Italy. The author described Otto II's defeat by the Saracens in Apulia after the king 'acting like an audacious young man, confident in his power and burning with rage... committed himself to an ill-advised battle'. Otto had refused to wait for reinforcements because a 'habit of winning and an ignorance of losing gave him courage'.[64] The author concluded that 'without counsel, bravery is transformed into rashness'.[65] The *Gesta* continued that Otto escaped on an enemy ship by pretending to be a rich man from Bari. He sent word to his followers to bring rewards for the sailors as well as a fast horse.[66] When the gifts were brought upon the vessel, Otto used the horse to leap from the ship. As he had 'escaped in shame, the emperor was overcome with humiliation' and 'decided to seek better counsel when preparing military forces', but died shortly afterwards.[67] The *Gesta* later described Otto III's residence in Rome and how, encouraged by his own youth, strength, and lineage, he sought to 'raise up the status of the Roman empire to the

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[61] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 96-97; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 440-441 'ibique Gallis bachantibus atque latrocinantibus'.
[62] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 96; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 440. The author highlighted both the indignation of his followers and the size of the force then assembled.
[63] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,*97-98; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 441.
[64] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 102; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 444 'et sicuti iuvenis audax, manu validus, animo exaestuat, moras precipitat. Qui nec mora, non multis quos presentes habebat fultus, facto itinere illuc pertransiit; nec passus se expectare suos per intervalla itinerum sequuturos, mox contra hostem prelium inconsulte commisit'.
[65] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 102; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 444 'non sine consilio fortitudo in temeritate convertitur'.
[66] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,*102-103; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 444.
[67] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,*102-103; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 444 'Unde cum probro abscedens, pudore succensus, meliori consilio militarem copiam sibi ad reparandum prelium quaerere estimavit'.

power it had enjoyed under its ancient kings'.[68] Otto preferred Romans to Germans as his leading advisors because they were familiar with local customs.[69] The former, however, resented the emperor's zeal for justice and, after killing one of his friends, besieged him in his palace until he was rescued by duke Henry of Bavaria.[70] Both examples demonstrated the dangers kings faced when they listened to the wrong advisors, but, unlike in England, this was not linked to any episcopal duty, but presented as a general principle in relation to the history of the realm. Any moral lessons to be drawn from such episodes were implicit.[71] The same author went on to criticise Conrad II for imprisoning several bishops from Lombardy.[72] At Pavia, where the king was due to be crowned, many died from fear after a terrifying storm, and Bertulf, a royal secretary, claimed to have seen St Ambrose appear, enraged by Conrad's evil acts.[73] Conrad subsequently left Italy, his business incomplete, and died shortly afterwards.[74] At the same time, it must be pointed out that the *Gesta* did not link his fate explicitly back to the events in Lombardy. Instead, royal deeds, and particularly royal successions and campaigns in Italy, seem to have merited attention in their own right. While this material is certainly more common in the *gesta*, we have seen how praise, criticisms, and anecdotes featuring kings, were similarly included in the *vitae*. Royal history was not shunned, but actively incorporated.[75]

If we now turn to how these authors associated their own dioceses and bishops with kings in the distant past, we can see a further illustration of the importance authors continued to attach to royal authority. Their concerted efforts to derive legitimacy and prestige from these connections provide a striking contrast with the supposed reserve and wariness towards

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[68] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 113; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 451 'Siquidem eodem tempore imperator Romam profectus, in antiquo palacio, quod est in monte Aventino versabatur, et sicuti iuvenis, tam viribus audax quam genere potens, magnum quiddam, immo et inpossibile cogitans, virtutem Romani imperii ad potentiam veterum regum attollere conabatur'.
[69] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 113; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 451.
[70] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 114; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 451.
[71] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 115; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 451. The death of Otto III in turn brought disorder, with Baldwin of Flanders attacking Cambrai. Henry of Bavaria was then chosen as king by the Lotharingian magnates, the Gesta explained, because he was pious, cautious in counsel, vigorous in war, and related to his predecessor. *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 115; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 452 Henry II's attack on Baldwin of Flanders, after he refused to answer his summons and had seized Valenciennes, met with failure because of the sins of the people and because their allies refused to help. *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 217; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 485 'canticumque populi malum facti sunt'. The succession of Conrad II was described, in turn, and the opposition of Duke Gothelo of Lotharingia, who asked the bishops to swear not to support or visit Conrad. The bishops broke the agreement 'after having made themselves the butt of malicious songs by people'.
[72] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 221; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 487.
[73] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 222; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 487.
[74] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 222; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 487.
[75] For further examples, see *Vita Meinwerci*, 70-71, 78-81.

royal power argued to have been prevalent in the twelfth century. The German *vitae* and *gesta* exhibit a similar tendency to that uncovered by Amy Remensnyder in relation to the monasteries of south-western France.[76] In Remensyder's examples, Clovis, Pippin III, and Charlemagne, were actively incorporated into foundation histories. Remensnyder suggested that authors did so to establish claims of royal protection, to assert their independence and liberties, and to urge contemporary monarchs to live up to the standards set by their predecessors. The inclusion of royal foundation narratives in the German *gesta* point to similar ambitions, but this was not only a defensive endeavour. Authors also constructed a positive institutional history to demonstrate that their communities were an integral part of the realm's past.

The authors of the *gesta* made clear the importance of royal support to the foundation, survival, and continued prosperity of their diocese. Appealing to royal involvement mattered as much as, and arguably more than, any early Christian or Roman connection. Like Remensnyder, Schlochtermeyer suggested that the construction of this past admonished bishops to emulate their predecessors.[77] Connections to imperial and royal history went well beyond claims of patronage. A royal connection provided its own kind of legitimacy, anchoring the community into the wider history of the realm, and making it clear that diocesan and royal history were intertwined. The author of the Magdeburg *Gesta* explained that, for the glory of God and his church, he would write of the deeds of the archbishops, as well as which popes, emperors, and kings they served, and how the church benefited from princely generosity.[78] The Halberstadt *Gesta*, written at the beginning of the thirteenth century, but based on earlier precursors, set out to inform readers of the 'number and order of the bishops, the deeds of each, and under which popes, emperors, or kings they exercised their office',[79] while the Hildesheim *Chronicle*, composed around 1079, is preceded by an annotated list of kings, from Pippin II (c. 635-714) to Henry IV.[80] The list, while inaccurate,

[76] Amy G. Remensyder, *Remembering Kings Past. Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY, 1995).
[77] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken*, 175-178; Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 282-289 on the importance of foundation narratives in episcopal chronicles and their appeals to the past.
[78] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, MGH SS 14, 376.
[79] *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, MGH SS 23, 78 'numerum quoque et ordinem presulum, gesta etiam singulorum et sub quibus apostolicis ei imperatoribus sive regibus presiderent, et in quibus principum liberalitate ecclesia profecerit per eosdem, succincta brevitate percurrere destinavi'.
[80] It has been suggested that the author was a cathedral canon. The *Chronicle* of Hildesheim spans the period of the diocese's foundation under Louis the Pious until the death of Bishop Hezilo (1054-1079) who appears to have commissioned it. *Chronicon Hildesheimense*, MGH SS 7, 850.

highlighted the author's attempt to connect Hildesheim to a parallel royal history, with the writer beginning his narrative of the diocese on the same page as the royal list.[81]

The importance of kings sprang, in the first instance, from their role as founders of the diocese and institutions to which authors themselves belonged. The *gesta* were proud to characterise the foundation of their dioceses as an act of royal will. First, however, they pointed out that the episcopal cities themselves were created by Caesar. The Magdeburg *Gesta* explained that the Roman leader, of Trojan descent, had founded cities across Gaul to protect his armies and keep the local population in check, including Magdeburg.[82] The *Chronica episcoporum Merseburgensium*, written around 1136, similarly drew on Thietmar of Merseburg to describe the settlement's foundation by Caesar.[83] Indeed, the twelfth-century chronicler went further than his source, explaining that Saxon martial valour posed a challenge to even the greatest of Roman emperors.[84]

The foundation of the bishoprics themselves were then attributed, with pride, to Charlemagne or Otto the Great. In Saxony, as in southern France, Carolingian monarchs, and Charlemagne in particular, were transformed from conquerors into founders, their association with the Church in question bringing glory to the community and its prelates. The Halberstadt *Gesta* praised Charlemagne in detail, claiming that, after many conquests, he defined the limits of the new diocese and granted the Saxons their ancient liberties, releasing them from all tribute except the tithe.[85] Halberstadt's formal elevation to a bishopric occurred at Aachen in 814, and the *Gesta* copied Louis the Pious's royal confirmation of the diocese's rights.[86] In the list of kings that prefaced the Hildesheim *Chronicle*, Charlemagne was singled out as the

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[81] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken*, 59; Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung* ,283.
[82] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, MGH SS 14, 377; Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken*, 69; cf. Heinz Thomas, 'Julius Caesar und die Deutschen. Zum Ursprung und Gehalt eines deutschen Geschichtsbewußtseins in der Zeit Gregors VII. und Heinrichs IV', in *Die Salier und das Reich* vol. 3, ed. Stefan Weinfurter (Sigmaringen, 1991), 245-278.
[83] *Chronica episcoporum Merseburgensium*,MGH SS 10, 163-164.
[84] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken*, 127. From a modern standpoint we can, of course, recognise that Caesar himself had never achieved the imperial title.
[85] *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, MGH SS 23, 78 'surnamed the Great, patrician of the Romans, king of the Franks, apostle of the Saxons, and the founder and governor of the entire church... sprung from royal predecessors, by the seriousness of his character not only honoured the nobility of his own family, but also increased in the Lord the entire land of the Franks and happily made it stable by the laws and institutions of the Catholic faith, revered with appropriate honour by his own people and feared abroad' 'Karolus igitur, qui cognominatus est Magnus, Romanorum patricius, Francorum rex, Saxonum apostolus, nec non tocius ecclesie institutor et rector, cum a proavis esset regibus oriundus, morum gravitate non solum ingenuitatem sui generis honestavit, sed et omnem terram Francorum legibus et catholice fidei institutis adauxit in Domino et feliciter stabilivit, unde non solum suis extitit honore debito reverendus, sed etiam exteris nationibus bellorum frequentia et felici semper victoria metuendus'.
[86] *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, MGH SS 23, 80.

sole ruler to receive the title 'imperator' (though Otto I, Henry II, and Henry III were noted as the founders of Magdeburg, Bamberg, and Goslar respectively).[87] Charlemagne was similarly claimed as the founder of Hildesheim: the *Chronicle* described the forced conversion of the Saxons and how the emperor sought to found future bishoprics at Paderborn, Corvey, Minden, and Herstelle, as well as Hildesheim, with the grant for the latter again confirmed by Louis the Pious.[88] The relocation of the see from Elze, its original site, was conveniently ignored.[89]

A similar pattern emerges from *vitae*. The *Vita Meinwerci* opened with Charlemagne's conversion of Saxony. Once accomplished, the king 'took pleasure in the sweet loveliness and mildness of the air of this place', lingering at Paderborn to settle imperial affairs. He then founded the diocese by donating land acquired in war because of his love for God.[90] The *Vita* described how Bishop Badurad (r. 815-862),

> 'cultivated intimate relations with King Charles on account of his aristocratic nobility, his magnanimity, and his courage... [and] gained such a respected and esteemed position with him that he had no less opportunity than willingness to enlarge, advance, extend, and beautify the Church entrusted to him.'[91]

On the emperor's death, the biographer named Charlemagne as 'father of the *patria*, apostle of the people of the Saxons'.[92] The author of the *Vita Meinwerci* thus made Charlemagne the founder of Paderborn. Indeed, he was the first person to be mentioned by name in the work as a whole.[93]

While the portrayal of kings as founders has been noted by Schlochtermeyer and Hans Werner-Goetz, less attention has been paid to those royal associations, derived from the distant past, that were not linked directly to a community's foundation. The *Vita Altmanni* claimed that the Saxons, originally descended from the army of Alexander the Great, became

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[87] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 59.
[88] *Chronicon Hildesheimense,*MGH SS 7, 850-851.
[89] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 61.
[90] *Vita Meinwerci,* 62-63 'Cuius iucunda amenitate placidaque aeris temperie rex delectatus pro publicis disponendis negotiis inibi sepius est moratus...'. Pope Leo III subsequently met Charlemagne at Paderborn, where he was received with great honour, and consecrated the crypt there with an altar. *Vita Meinwerci,* 62-65. See 63 n. 8-9 on the possibility of the *Vita* drawing upon the *De Karolo rege et Leo papa* and for a record of Charlemagne's visits to Paderborn.
[91] *Vita Meinwerci,* 64-67 'Qui preclarae modum nobilitatis, magnanimitatis et industriae merito familaritatem Karoli regis intime consecutus, tantae dignitatis et dilectionis apud eum locum promeruit, ut ei non minor facultas quam voluntas amplificandae, provehendae atque adornandae ecclesiae sibi commissae suppeteret.
[92] *Vita Meinwerci,* 66-67 gloriosus imperator Karolus, pater patriae, apostolus gentis Saxonicae'.
[93]As noted by Berndt at *Vita Meinwerci,* 62 n. 4.

frivolous between the conquests of Caesar and Charlemagne.[94] Norbert of Iburg, in the *Vita Bennonis*, explained that his own monastery had once been a castle, owned by Widukind, before it was seized by Charlemagne.[95] While the emperor's reign formed an important historical backdrop for these authors, some made more detailed attempts to associate their bishops not only with Charlemagne, but with Frankish and Carolingian rulers more generally. The Cambrai *Gesta* spent some time describing the association of St Vaast (d. 540), the first bishop, with the Frankish king Clovis.[96] The latter had failed to listen to the entreaties of his queen Clotild to convert to Christianity, convinced that his military victories were founded on the aid of pagan gods.[97] The queen, more concerned for his salvation than the power of the kingdom, asked God to force his conversion.[98] When Clovis was nearly defeated by the Alemanni, he agreed if the Christian God would grant him victory. After the king subsequently triumphed in battle, he submitted to the teachings of St Vaast who acted as the king's guide until he became a bishop with Clovis's permission.[99]

The *Life* of St Willibrord (c. 658-739), the apostle of the Frisians and first bishop of Utrecht, written by Thiofrid, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Echternach between 1103 and 1104, similarly explored links with the Frankish kings.[100] The author stated that the saint approached the Frankish duke Pippin, whose family, he explained, had become mayors of the palace under King Dagobert. The saint was received, like Samuel, as an angel of the Lord by Charles Martel who urged him to baptize his son.[101] Willibrord predicted that the child would 'attain the highest fame and esteem of any kind, far surpassing his ancestors, towering over all the dukes of the Franks, who stood in exalted positions in the past'.[102] The author proclaimed that no prophecy of Isaiah had ever proved more true, as could be asserted

[94] *Vita Altmanni episcopi Pataviensis*, MGH SS 12, 229.
[95] *Vita Bennonis*, 396-399.
[96] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*, 18-19.
[97] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*, 38-39; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, MGH SS 7, 405-406.
[98] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*, 39; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, MGH SS 7, 405.
[99] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*, 39-40, 46-47 *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, MGH SS 7, 405-406, 408-409. The *Gesta* also pointed out that St Aubert enjoyed a similar friendship with King Dagobert, receiving a royal estate because of the king's love for him.
[100] The author followed his source, a late Carolingian *vita*, very closely http://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_04430.html accessed 30/08/2018.
[101] *Vita s. Willibrordi*, in *Willibrord – Apostel der Friesen*, ed. and trans. H. J. Reischman (Sigmaringendorf, 1989), 106-123, at 110, 118-119.
[102] *Vita s. Willibrordi*, 118-121 '"Hic", inquit, "infantulus hodie in Christo regeneratus per gratiam incircumscripti spiritus summa gloria et decus omne suis erit progenitoribus et longe prestantior et excellentior universis retro constitutis in sublimitatibus Francorum ducibus!"'

through histories, chronicles, and the testimony of others.[103] A lengthy digression followed, describing the transfer of royal authority from the Merovingian to the Carolingian dynasty. Thiofrid explained that the Frankish king Childeric, unfit to rule, had rightly been deposed by Pope Zachariah in favour of Pippin whose virtuous deeds are then described.[104] Charlemagne is praised:

> 'the power of whose majesty, in the greatness of his glory, is limited only by the ocean and his fame only by the stars.'[105]

The *Vita* concluded by relating the foundation of the Carolingian dynasty to the present by explaining that 'from such a strong root and dense low-lying seeds sprang a forest of kings and rulers until the victorious and gracious Emperor Henry IV, in whose reign we have written these words'.[106] Describing the interactions of saints with Frankish and Carolingian kings was not simply a matter of rewriting late eighth-century *vitae*. Rather, such interactions pertained to a line of kings regarded as unbroken to the present day. Indeed, in 1103/4, at the nadir of his reputation and authority, Henry IV was still regarded as 'victorious and gracious', a king worthy of association with his Carolingian and Frankish forbears, a point to which we shall return.

The *Life* of Burchard of Würzburg (741-754), written 1108 x 1113 by Ekkehard of Aura, provides a final, more explicit, example of why episcopal biographers included royal history. Ekkehard claimed that Pippin II 'revealed to him [Burchard] the secrets of his heart'.[107] The *Vita* then explained in detail how Pippin had ruled as mayor of the palace while Childeric governed in name only. Pippin agreed to Burchard's pious wishes and sent a royal embassy to Pope Zacharius.[108] Pippin, the pope, and Archbishop Boniface of Mainz (d. 754)

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[103] *Vita s. Willibrordi*, 120-121 n. 204. The boy proved the heir to his father's paternal dignity and ability and was named the 'Hammer' for his victories, Thiofrid mistakenly attributing a title earned by the father, Charles Martel, to the son instead.
[104] *Vita s. Willibrordi*, 120-121.
[105] *Vita s. Willibrordi*, 121-123 'magnum Karolum, qui gloriae magnitudine maiestatis suae potentiam oceano et famam terminans astris, quasi recenti memoria in id temporis per orbem terrae celebratur ore omnium, et Caesaris Augusti meruit et throni sui ac dignitatis heredibus reliquit nomen augustale ac imperatorium'.
[106] *Vita s. Willibrordi*, 122-123 'Et procul dubio, ut vaticinii veritas rata et comprobata sit, imperii fundamenta pater iecit, operis tocius gloriam filius consummavit, et de tanta radice et germine densissima et altissima regum et imperatorum usque in victoriosissimum et clementissimum quartum Henricum, sub cuuis monarchia hec caraxavimus, silva pullulavit'.
[107] *Vita Burchardi posterior*, in *Leben und Wirken des hl. Burchard*, ed. K. Schäfer and H. Schiesser (Bad Neustadt/Saale, 1986) 124-125 'Tandem tot templorum spiritus sancti concordantium roboratus oraculis Pipinum, qui maior domus dictus tunc Francorum regnum sub Hilderico solo nomine rege dispensabat, supplex adiit eique super capitulo praesenti sui cordis secreta revelavit'. See http://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_02074.html accessed 10/07/2018.
[108] *Vita Burchardi posterior*, 124-125.

then jointly established the bishopric of Würzburg, with Burchard as its first bishop.[109] The latter was 'considered so honourable by all' that he was again sent to Rome 'by agreement of the whole empire... to discuss Frankish imperial affairs, since the kingdom had very obviously lost prestige'.[110] On learning that true power resided with the mayors of the palace, the pope replied, through Burchard, that the title of king belonged to those who exercised true authority.[111] At the end of Burchard's mission, Pippin was thus made ruler by the Franks and by papal authority.[112] Ekkehard justified the digression by explaining that 'we were only discussing this because our Burkhard was involved in making such great decisions as a most energetic legate and colleague'.[113] It was no small matter that the first bishop of Würzburg had taken part not only in the foundation of a diocese, but of the Carolingian royal dynasty itself.

Aside from Charlemagne, the ruler praised most in the episcopal *gesta* was Otto the Great, whose reign was unsurprisingly regarded as a golden age in Magdeburg and Merseburg. The Magdeburg *Gesta* first described how the Saxons had been defeated and converted by Charlemagne, with Magdeburg subordinated to the diocese of Halberstadt.[114] Magdeburg's revival began when Otto founded a royal abbey at the behest of Queen Edith, whose piety and nobility, as the daughter of the English king Edmund, was praised by the author.[115] The abbey was dedicated to St Peter, to St Maurice, the leader of the Theban legion, and to his contemporary St Innocent, whose remains were a gift to the royal couple from Rudolf II, king of Burgundy.[116] Otto brought the relics to Magdeburg and determined that the abbot would provide a *servitium* of a horse, a shield, a lance, and two fur coats every year.[117] After his victory at Lechfeld (955), Otto vowed to St Lawrence, before the assembled royal court, that he would set up a diocese at Merseburg, confirming his intentions by first enlarging the monastery at Magdeburg and constructing a cathedral praised by all

[109] *Vita Burchardi posterior*, 127-129.
[110] *Vita Burchardi posterior*, 142-143 'Adeo denique in brevi habitus est ab omnibus honorabilis, ut etiam totius regni consilio... ad consulendum scilicet pro negotiis regni Francorum, quod iam multum ab honore suo degenerasse videbatur'.
[111] *Vita Burchardi posterior*, 144-145.
[112] *Vita Burchardi posterior*, 146-147.
[113] *Vita Burchardi posterior*, 146-147 'Sed de hiis iam dixisse sufficiat, quorum nunc mentionem prorsus attigimus propter Burkardum nostrum, qui tantis negotiis strenuus omnino legatus et cooperator intererat'. The *Vita* also referred to royal protection and gifts from Charlemagne at 150-151, 190-191.
[114] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken*, 105-116; *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, MGH SS 14, 376-377.
[115] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, MGH SS 14, 376.
[116] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken*, 105-106; *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, MGH SS 14, 377.
[117] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, MGH SS 14, 378.

Saxony.[118] Otto then founded new dioceses to the east, with Magdeburg as the archdiocese, delaying the final decision until Bernhard of Halberstadt (r. 923-968) was present to relinquish some of his lands.[119] The *Gesta* explained that the pope and bishops had agreed to the foundation in Ravenna, the chronicler attributing to Otto I the duty to convert the Slavs while Magdeburg itself received a pallium, primacy over all Germania, and the right to set up a college of cardinals.[120] The author, as Schlochtermeyer pointed out, thus enumerated far more rights than were conceded in the actual foundation. The synod at Ravenna had in fact emphasised papal and archiepiscopal, not royal, responsibility for the conversion of the Slavs. Charlemagne and Otto I were thereby made responsible, retrospectively in the case of the latter, for the conversion of pagans.[121] The *Gesta* preferred to highlight imperial judgements, making the diocese's foundation appear as an act of imperial will, while disguising the difficulties involved and the resistance from Halberstadt in particular.[122]

The co-operation with kings during the golden age of Otto the Great's reign became a standard by which later archbishops of Magdeburg were judged. Schlochtermeyer suggested that highlighting the importance of this relationship constituted the chronicle's *causa scribendi*.[123] That partnership had often been endangered and not only during the Investiture Contest. Drawing on Thietmar of Merseburg, the *Gesta* noted that Hermann Billung had received a royal reception in Magdeburg while Otto I was absent in Italy, a violation of the previously harmonious relationship between diocese and king.[124] Greater disruption was later caused by the dissolution of Merseburg and the pontificate of Archbishop Giselher (of Merseburg from 971, then of Magdeburg 981-1004). Giselher had assumed the archbishopric out of vanity and greed, recommending himself to Otto II and bribing the papal court when he should have advocated for a different candidate.[125] After Giselher supported Merseburg's dissolution, the Slavs devastated Saxony and its dioceses, and Otto II was reprimanded by St Lawrence before suffering military defeat.[126] The *Gesta* glossed over the plans to restore Merseburg, and attempts to force Giselher's resignation, preferring to suggest that the

[118] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 379.
[119] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 379-380.
[120] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 106-107; *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 380-382.
[121] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 108-109.
[122]Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 110-111.
[123] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 112.
[124] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 114; *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 383.
[125] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 115; *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 386-387, 392.
[126] See above, 155-156.

partnership between the German kings and Magdeburg continued unabated.[127] Otto's reign remained the standard by which later archbishops were judged, the author later praising Norbert of Xanten (1126-1134) for attempting to restore the archdiocese to the prosperity it had achieved during that distant time.[128]

The Merseburg *Gesta* likewise highlighted how Otto I had refounded the city.[129] As with Magdeburg, the author sought to disguise the disputes that accompanied the foundation.[130] The diocese's dissolution between 981 and 1004 was blamed on Giselher. The chronicler marked out important moments in the bishopric's history by inserting direct speech: Giselher's conversation with Otto II, St Lawrence's exhortation to Otto III to restore the diocese, and Henry II's consideration of Thietmar as the new bishop, were all marked in this manner.[131] By including various other royal grants, and showing how Henry II undertook a spiritual and material restoration of the see, the *Gesta* demonstrated that Merseburg could only flourish, or even survive, under a supportive king.[132]

Contrary to the impression that kings were distant and irrelevant to the local and diocesan focus of *vitae* and *gesta*, the authors of these sources recognised the importance of royal support to the foundation and prosperity of their communities. In addition, they were keen to connect their bishops to the Frankish and Carolingian kings. Royal deeds were discussed, and kings praised and criticised, even when the connection to diocese and bishop was indirect or unclear. Those authors who found royal history an inappropriate subject for *vitae* were very much the exception. More commonly, connections to the king were perceived as a source of legitimacy and a topic of general interest to the audiences for these works. We should note the differences here with twelfth-century England. When German *vitae* stressed episcopal participation in royal affairs, they did not portray the partnership as crucial to the realm's morality or prosperity in a manner similar to that of Dunstan and Edgar. Indeed, there are few attributions of episcopal oversight of either royal or communal behaviour in these

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[127] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 116.
[128] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 414
[129] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 126-127; *Chronica episcoporum Merseburgensium,*MGH SS 10, 163-164.
[130] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 129.
[131] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 130; *Chronica episcoporum Merseburgensium,*MGH SS 10, 169-170, 173.
[132] See Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 134-136; *Chronica episcoporum Merseburgensium,* MGH SS 10, 172-175. Although these foundation narratives are featured more often in the *gesta*, they are also not unknown in the *vitae*: The *Vita Norberti* emphasised how Magdeburg had been founded and supported by royal power, while Rupert of Deutz described how Heribert and Otto III entered a pact to found Rupert's monastery of Deutz. *Vita Norberti A*, MGH SS 12, 694; *Vita Heriberti*, 52-54.

accounts. While authors in both realms certainly desired a royal connection, and constructed an imagined past that allowed them to postulate one, how they did so reflects a broader difference between the two realms which we will encounter again below.

Royal service and royal favour

The authors of the German *vitae* and *gesta* provided greater detail when they discussed the royal services performed by their episcopal masters and the marks of royal favour received in response. As Köhler, Engels, and Plassman have suggested, in the view of some biographers, royal service was certainly expected to benefit the diocese.[133] Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, completed in 1075/1076, provides a particularly vivid example.[134] When Adaldag of Bremen (r. 937-988) became archbishop, Adam claimed that he ensured the diocese was liberated from royal officers and judges by the king's edict.[135] God granted Adaldag such favour and intimacy with Otto I 'that he could scarcely ever tear himself away from his side'. Adam qualified, however, that Adaldag 'never lost sight of the needs of the diocese or neglected the care of his legateship'.[136] Indeed, Adaldag supported the king precisely because he could see that Otto was favourably disposed to the conversion of pagans. Adam explained that 'our archbishop, on whom the most important decisions of the king depended' spent much of his time in Italy 'not of his own accord, I say, but because he could not be torn from the king's side'. Crucially, his service resulted in 'immense gain' for Bremen.[137] Even so, the people grew impatient at his absence and forced his return.[138]

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[133] See the studies above and Alheydis Plassman, 'Corrupted by Power - Bishops in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta* Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum', in *Historical and Intellectual Culture in the Long Twelfth Century: The Scandinavian Connection*, ed. Mia Münster-Swendsen, Thomas Kristian Heebøll-Holm, Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn (Durham, 2016), 71-89

[134] Edgar Johnson, 'Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen: A Politician of the Eleventh Century', *Speculum* 9 (1934), 147-162; Plassman, 'Corrupted by Power', especially 62-70; C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness* (Philadelphia, 1985), 67-80.

[135] Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan, Timothy Reuter (New York, 2002), 55; *Adam von Bremen, Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte (Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum)*, ed. B. Schmeidler MGH Script. rer. Germ., 2, (1917), 62.

[136] Adam of Bremen, *History*, 55; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 62 'Cuius ita usus est familiaritate quod a latere eius raro unquam divelleretur; nunquam tamen aut parrochiae necessitati defuit aut legationis suae curam posthabuit'.

[137] Adam of Bremen, *History*, 59-60; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 62 'His diebus annisque totidem noster archiepiscopus, apud quem summa consiliorum pendebat, in regno Italiae conversatus est; non sponte, inquam, sed quod a regum latere divelli non potuit. Ingens lucrum de peregrinatione sua Bremensi ecclesiae paravit'.

[138] Adam of Bremen, *History*, 69; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 82.

If Adaldag provided an example of how to serve the king for the benefit of the diocese, Adalbert (r. 1043-1072) did the opposite. The archbishop 'did not spare himself or his followers or even his bishopric to please Caesar and his courtiers', though Adam admitted that his aim was to free the church.[139] The archbishop undertook many duties at court, exerting himself and his followers abroad, and becoming the foremost advisor of Henry III, who marvelled at his perseverance.[140] Adalbert's attempts to test the loyalty of the Saxon dukes, as we saw in chapter 2, ended in disaster.[141] Although the archbishop worked hard, and used papal and royal patronage to establish Bremen's primacy, his expenses outstripped any such benefit. He was eventually even forced to sell off his liturgical equipment and cancel building work.[142] This portrayal of Adalbert's failure, Plassmann has suggested, constituted a warning to Archbishop Liemar (1072-1101). Royal favour was a means, not an end in itself.[143]

The *Vita Meinwerci* described royal service as an activity specifically undertaken to secure property. Meinwerk, having been welcomed into the royal retinue 'because of his elegant manners', received gifts and properties from Otto III even before he became a bishop.[144] Meinwerk's predecessor, Bishop Rethar (r. 983-1009), was described as 'among so many others who, through their knowledge and strength of character, energetically supported the favourable development of the Roman Empire'.[145] Rethar set an example for Meinwerk by seizing every opportunity to gain properties for his church. In Rome, after Paderborn had been devastated by a fire, Rethar wept before the Pope and the king, persuading them to renew Paderborn's privileges.[146] Meanwhile, Meinwerk, had begun to serve the Empire, the author of the *Vita* reformulating Matthew 22:21 to claim the cleric 'gave to God what is God's and to the Emperor's what is the Emperor's, to benefit his church only where and when a favourable opportunity arose'.[147] Like his predecessor, Meinwerk constantly

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[139] Adam of Bremen, *History,* 119; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte,* 147 'sibi ac suis aut ipsi episcopatui, cesarem placando et aulicos, dummodo id efficeret, quod ecclesia esset libera'.
[140] Adam of Bremen, *History,* 119; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte,* 147.
[141] Adam of Bremen, *History,* 120-121; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte,* 148-150. See above, 128.
[142] *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte,* 189.
[143] Plassman, 'Corrupted by Power', 70 - a warning which, in any case, was ignored.
[144] *Vita Meinwerci,* 70-73 'regio obsequio morum elegantia idoneus adiudicatur evocatusque ad palatium regius capellanus efficitur'.
[145] *Vita Meinwerci,* 72-73 'Eo tempore Retharius Patherbrunnensis ecclesiae venerabilis episcopus inter alios quam plures, qui scientia prediti, moribus adornati secundas partes regni strennue adiuvabant, enituit'.
[146] *Vita Meinwerci,* 76-77.
[147] *Vita Meinwerci,* 88-89 'ubi reddens Deo, quae sunt Dei, et cesari, quae sunt cesaris, ecclesiae commissae prodesset, ubi se oportunitas optulisset loci et temporis'.

reminded the king of Paderborn's sufferings, receiving many estates in return.[148] Henry II, who often visited Paderborn, acted 'as a helper and collaborator in the artifices and efforts of the bishop' while Queen Kunigunde interceded on Meinwerk's behalf.[149] When Meinwerk accompanied the king to Italy, and again lamented the plight of his church, he received a gift that equalled his expenses for the campaign. At Pavia, he was granted a further privilege from the emperor 'who knew the trouble of the arduous journey which he had taken with him out of love for him'.[150] A charter, copied by the author, explained that Meinwerk simply 'sweated more than others' in royal service, with other nobles in the Empire encouraged others to emulate his example.[151]

The author included several more detailed anecdotes, designed to demonstrate the desperate lengths Meinwerk would go, in order to gain properties from the king.[152] On one occasion, when Henry II visited Paderborn, Meinwerk was forced to slaughter the pregnant sheep in the diocese to make a fur coat for the emperor. After the magnates saw the emperor clothed in sheepskins, rather than his usual ermine, Henry summoned the bishop and accused him of 'not knowing honour and love and having forgotten the dignity of the Roman Empire'.[153] The bishop assured him the garment was of the highest quality, suitable for his dignity, then reminded him:

> 'Henry, I have clothed your mortal body by plundering this poor bishopric of the Eternal Virgin, St Mary, which you have entrusted to me. These canons, stewards, and beggars who should have been warmed with the skins of dead sheep and should have been fed by their milk and produce, have been cheated and robbed. You will be

[148] *Vita Meinwerci*, 88-89.
[149] *Vita Meinwerci*, 88-89 'Sepius autem in civitate Patherbrunnensi commoratus operum et studiorum eius adiutor et cooperator extitit, favente et instante per omnia venerabili Chunigunda regina, cui non minor voluntas quam facultas in ecclesiis Dei amplificandis et meliorandis semper fuit'. See also, 93-95.
[150] *Vita Meinwerci*, 98-99, 106-107 'Imperator autem eius ardui itineris laborem, quem suae dilectionis intuitu ad apostolorum limina secum arripuerit...'
[151] *Vita Meinwerci*, 218-219 'quod episcopus Meinwercus plus ceteris fidelibus suis iugi devotione in servitute regia sudasset'; See further examples at 202-205, 228-231, 236-237 including of intercession by the Empress.
[152] As Hagen Keller commented, there is a sinister atmosphere here - the offertory is a place of extortion, the gift is compulsory, Christmas made an occasion for gaining properties by deceptive manoeuvres amid divine services. Keller reads the anecdotes discussed here as mid twelfth-century criticism of the imperial church system. Hagen Keller, 'Meinwerk von Paderborn und Heimrad von Hasungen: Spätottonische Kirchenmänner und Frömmigkeitsformen in Darstellungen aus der Zeit Heinrichs IV. und Friedrich Barbarossas', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 39 (2005), 129-150.
[153] *Vita Meinwerci*, 208-211 'Qui advocato episcopo, cur pelles ovinas sibi dedisset, inquisivit et honoris ac amoris ignarum dignitatisque Romani imperii cum oblitum proclamavit'.

> charged for this crime before God if you do not swiftly restore in full what has been plundered from the church.'[154]

The emperor smiled and offered compensation. After Vespers, he sent a servant to Meinwerk to show him a beautifully crafted cup. The bishop refused to return it, locked the royal messenger out of the room, and had his goldsmiths transform the cup into a chalice for the Christmas Mass. The emperor claimed that God would detest such robbery, especially during a religious service, but Meinwerk responded that he had chosen 'your foolish pomp for the worship. Take my pious gift away from God for your greater damnation if you dare'.[155] Henry replied that he had no wish to do so, carrying the chalice to the altar himself to the bishop's delight.[156] Meinwerk later then refused to accept the emperor's offering during Mass, requesting instead the royal estate of Erwitte and imploring the Empress to intercede on his behalf. The *Vita* emphasised that God had changed the emperor's mind because of Meinwerk's merits and piety. Having realised in advance he would 'face the bishop's vengeance', Henry had already prepared a privilege. When Meinwerk again demanded the property, turning his face and hands away from the emperor, Henry 'concealing with suitable reverence and self-control the repulse which had been offered him, followed the bishop as he went before, and humbly prayed that he might condescend to accept his offering'. At the same time, the Empress and nobles 'who gladly attended the spectacle' begged Henry to give the estate to the bishop.[157] The emperor, 'beset by the obstinacy of the bishop and the perseverance of the Empress and the princes', eventually agreed, but then turned away to mutter 'and you shall feel the hatred of God and all his saints, you who will not cease robbing me of possessions to the kingdom's detriment'. [158] Oblivious to this, Meinwerk announced

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[154] *Vita Meinwerci,* 210-211 '"Ego", inquit, "Heinrice, pro corpore tuo mortali vestiendo pauperem beatae Mariae semper virginis episcopatum, a te mihi collatum, devastavi; canonicos eius, villicos et mendicos de velleribus ovium occisorum fovendos, de lactis eorum copia cibique varii alimonia alendos fraudavi et spoliavi, cuius mali coram Deo reus tu eris, si non velociter et pleniter ecclesiae ablata restitueris'.

[155] *Vita Meinwerci,* 210-211 '"Ego", inquam [*sic inquit*] episcopus, "non rapinam sed avariciam tuae vanitatis cultui mancipavi divinitatis. Tu ad augmentum tuae perditionis aufer Deo, si audes, oblationem meae devotionis'. The autograph manuscript, the basis of the edition, has 'inquam' which the author of manuscript C corrected to inquit. See also Philippe Buc, 'Conversion of Objects: Suger of Saint-Denis and Meinwerk of Paderborn' *Viator* 28 (1997), 99-144.

[156] *Vita Meinwerci,* 210-211.

[157] *Vita Meinwerci,* 210-213 'Imperator autem congrua reverentia et disciplina repulsam sui dissimulans precedentem episcopum sequebatur et, ut oblationem suam suscipere dignaretur, humiliter precabatur. Diu autem uno precedente, altero subsequente imperatrix christianissima interventu magnatum regni qui ad hoc spectaculum gratulabundi astabant accessit et, ut peticioni nonnisi, quae Dei essent, queentis satisfaceret, imperatorem suppliciter petiit'.

[158] *Vita Meinwerci,* 212-213 'Qui diu multumque renisus tandem episcopi perseverantia, imperatricis primatumque coactus instantia, privilegium protulit...'. ' "Et tu", inquid, "odium Dei omniumque sanctorum eius habeas, qui me bonis concessis cum detrimento regni spoliare non cessas"

Henry would gain entry to Heaven through such a gift. He urged the assembly to emulate the emperor by reminding them that such generosity could merit even the forgiveness of sin.[159]

The author himself summarised Meinwerk's aims by stressing that 'at all times and in every way, [he] sought to provide for the prosperity of the Church entrusted to him...', alternating his approach between gratitude and pious zeal.[160] When Henry had adorned an altar in the cathedral with royal splendour, he warned his followers to avoid the 'bishop's accustomed assaults'.[161] Meinwerk then preached on the difference between imperial power and the dignity of the priesthood, concluding that objects dedicated to God's worship were church property. On another occasion, Meinwerk, desiring the emperor's garment, 'simply stole it from the emperor, who was busy with many things'.[162] The emperor accused Meinwerk of theft, and swore revenge, but the bishop replied that the robe was more appropriate for the church than for Henry's 'mortal limbs'.[163]

We have already seen that the *Vita* displayed some sympathy for the emperor by sharing his retort and criticism of the bishop. Henry went further and played a practical joke at Meinwerk's expense. Knowing that the bishop's worldly preoccupations meant his Latin was poor, he had a chaplain scratch out the 'fa' on the Missal from *famulis et famulabus.* When Meinwerk was asked to intercede for Henry's parents, he instead prayed for the emperor's *mulis et mulabus,* 'mules and female mules'. Meinwerk responded:

> 'By the Mother of God, again you have mocked me in the usual way, not just in any fashion, but during the divine service. On this I will be avenged, my Judge promises this, because what he has done will not go unpunished.'[164]

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[159] *Vita Meinwerci,* 212-213.
[160] *Vita Meinwerci,* 214-215 'Variis autem modis et temporibus ecclesie commissae prospiciens episcopus oportune importune imperatori institit et nunc gratuito oblata cum gratiarum actione suscipere, nunc negata pie violentus preripere non destitit'.
[161] *Vita Meinwerci,* 214-215 'ammonens suos episcopi solitam invasionem cautius precaveri'.
[162] *Vita Meinwerci,* 214-215 'sepenumero optinere desiderans effectu caruit, donec quadam die imperatori pluribus intento illud fortuitu rapuit'.
[163] *Vita Meinwerci,* 214-215 'quam sua membra mortalia'.
[164] *Vita Meinwerci,* 214-215 '"Per matrem", ait, "Domini, tu more solito iterum illusisti michi, et non quoque modo, verum in Dei nostri servitio. Cuius ero vindex, en promittit meus iudex. Namque sibi factum non pertransibit inultum'.

The bishop then had the imperial chaplain responsible for the act beaten.[165] The emperor, who marvelled at Meinwerk's devotion, subsequently 'decided to test his spirituality'.[166] He had his notaries write in golden letters on a piece of parchment: 'Bishop Meinwerk, put your house in order, for you will die in 5 days'.[167] Upon seeing this, the prelate distributed his food and money to the poor, before awaiting death with joy by lying in plain clothes on the floor of the crypt. Unfortunately, Meinwerk eventually grew hungry and, having suspected 'the machinations of the Emperor', visited the storeroom to refresh his body, weakened by exhaustion and fasts.[168] In the morning, the emperor and princes arrived 'as if to congratulate Lazaraus on his resurrection' and to assure Meinwerk that God had prolonged his life as an example to others.[169] The bishop did not take the joke well: he excommunicated the perpetrators of this 'mockery', and the emperor was only excused from the 'excesses of human recklessness' by the bishop with great difficulty.[170] The reconciliation provided yet another opportunity for Meinwerk to extract gifts for Paderborn's benefit, the author praising 'the bishop's power and the emperor's humility'.[171] Although there was an element of moral correction to Meinwerk's demands, the general tone of the *Vita Meinwerci* is strikingly sympathetic to the emperor's predicament and is not dissimilar to Malmesbury's account of William Rufus in recording the king's perspective. In stark contrast with the English *vitae*, however, here the episcopal biographer made clear that it was the ruler who had tested the spirituality of his bishop, rather than the other way around.

Some of the German *vitae* reflected the anxieties caused by such service and the consequences of its cost. A biography of Arnold, archbishop of Mainz (r. 1153-1160), written shortly after his murder, claimed that the archbishop was the first of the princes after the Emperor and had to 'equip himself for the great task of the Empire in a manner befitting the

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[165] *Vita Meinwerci,* 216-217. See 214, n. 746 which pointed out that the origin of the anecdote has not been traced.
[166] *Vita Meinwerci,* 216-217 'Miratus autem imperator multiplicem episcopi erga cultum Dei devotionem experiri proposuit'.
[167] *Vita Meinwerci,* 216-217 'Meinwerce episcope, dispone domui tuae; morieris enim quinta die'.
[168] *Vita Meinwerci,* 216-217 'et imperatoris suspicatus, ut re vera erat, machinamenta...'.
[169] *Vita Meinwerci,* 216-217 'quasi de resuscitatione Lazari gratulante'.
[170] *Vita Meinwerci,* 216-217 'irrisionem. . . excessum humanae levitatis'.
[171] *Vita Meinwerci,* 218-219 'episcopalis auctoritas et imperialis humilitas'. The author provided many further examples of royal generosity, including from Conrad II, whose favour Meinwerk had gained by lengthy service: *Vita Meinwerci,* 218- 219. See also 226-227 which suggested that Conrad II accidentally gave away one of Paderborn's counties to Archbishop Aribo of Mainz because he was inexperienced in governing and persuaded by false advice. Meinwerk had to work tirelessly until he gained Conrad's friendship and regained the properties.

rank of Mainz'.[172] When he demanded taxes from the citizens to pay for this, he reminded them that he had hitherto asked for nothing, even though 'he frequently toiled at great cost, whether at the imperial or papal court... for the reputation of the church and the whole city'.[173] The author of *Vita Arnoldi* may here be attempting to defend Arnold's earlier actions, given that one could have reasonably argued that his taxes on the community had indirectly led to his own martyrdom. Yet the image conveyed here also reflects some of the expectations surrounding royal service, with an emphasis on urban as well as episcopal glory.[174] In less dramatic fashion, the Magdeburg *Gesta* suggested that service had to be undertaken with wider approval: when Archbishop Conrad I (r. 1134-1142) took money from the cathedral's treasury to accompany Lothar III to Italy, he did so only with the advice of his clergy.[175] Even bishops, who otherwise were viewed negatively by their biographers, were praised when their royal service translated into donations for the community. The Magdeburg *Gesta* recognised that, despite his faults, Archbishop Giselher

> 'was a man well suited to this world and he caused this church to be enriched with many gifts and possessions by his own industry and by requests made of the emperors whom he had frequently and devotedly served, and he devoutly handed over to the brethren no fewer estates of his own inheritance for the salvation of his soul'.[176]

Although a certain conditionality was attached to royal service, and there was some recognition of the costs and dangers it could incur, performing this duty was to the credit of even otherwise flawed bishops. Nor is there much evidence that the episcopal biographers viewed such campaigns as in opposition to a bishop's spiritual qualities: according to the *Vita Meinwerci,* Meinwerk had served the Empire without neglecting his spiritual or pastoral

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[172] *Vita Arnoldi archiepiscopi Moguntinensis. Die Lebensbeschreibung des Mainzer Erzbischofs Arnold von Selenhofen*: *Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, ed. Stefan Burkhardt (Regensburg, 2014), 92-93 'et quia Maguntinus post imperatorem princeps est principum, ut secundum Maguntine ecclesie decenciam ad tantum imperii negocium accingere...'.
[173] *Vita Arnoldi*, 92-93 '... cum frequentissime pro honore ecclesie et tocius civitatis magnis laborasset impendiis, sive in imperiali sive in apostolica cura, sive contra hostes ecclesie...'.
[174] *Vita Arnoldi,* 94-95.
[175] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 415.
[176] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 392 'Erat enim vir in hoc mundo valde idoneus, et hanc ecclesiam multis donariis et possessionibus augeri fecit sua industria et petitionibus ab hiis, quibus frequenter et devote servierat, imperatoribus, nec pauciora sue hereditatis predia pro remedio anime sue devotus tradidit fratribus'.

duties,[177] while the *Vita Arnoldi* claimed the archbishop of Mainz has continued to pray at night even when called upon to serve the earthly kingdom.[178]

Haarländer suggested that a change in the attitude towards royal service was reflected in how these authors interpreted Matthew 22:21.[179] We have already seen that the author of the *Vita Meinwerci* had adapted the phrase to suggest that the bishop only served his earthly king when it benefited his diocese.[180] Norbert of Iburg cited the passage in relation to Benno's role as a *vicedominus regis* and his combined oversight of both a secular and an ecclesiastical court.[181] The first *Vita* of Anno of Cologne, written 1104/1105, used it to refer to Cologne, with any reference to the king's majesty substituted for the prestige of the city.[182] The author of the second biography of the archbishop, the *Vita Annonis Minor*, composed between 1173 and 1183, also adapted the passage to argue that the archbishop:

> 'gave to God what was duly God's. However, as far as secular affairs were concerned, he administered them thus that, when treating spiritual or secular matters, as in any kind of business, he would have proven himself unworthy of none of the first of the realm.'[183]

The *Life* of Conrad of Salzburg (r. 1106-1147), written between 1170 and 1184, was equally unenthusiastic, explaining that the bishop only served the king in order to obey God.[184] Royal service, unlike in England, was evidently not a worthy cause in its own right. At the same time, the *Life of Conrad* aside, the passage was recited more often with ambivalence than outright opposition. In fact, it was used far more favourably by Herbord, the third biographer of Otto of Bamberg (r. 1102/1106-1139), writing around 1159, who invoked it to refer to how

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[177] *Vita Meinwerci*, 88-89.
[178] *Vita Arnoldi*, 58-59 'Et cum terreni imperii pro assumpto officio instancius occuparetur obsequiis...'
[179] 'They say to him: Caesar's. Then he saith to them: Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's'. See Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 359-364.
[180] *Vita Meinwerci*, 88-89.
[181] *Vita Bennonis*, 388-389.
[182] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 362; *Vita Annonis*, MGH SS 11, 469.
[183] *Vita Annonis Minor: Die Jüngere Annovita*, ed. and trans. Mauritius Mittler (Siegburg, 1975), 14-15 'Reddebat enim pre omnibus, quae Dei erant Deo, quae vero mundi, sic administrabat, ut in exequendis ecclesiae vel rei publicae negociis omniumque agendorum genere nullis se regni primoribus pro accepta dignitate imparem gereret'.
[184] See Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 363; *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'Iste vero militare sic regi terreno et mortali cupiebat, ut caelesti sempiterno debitum fideliter prestaret obsequium, a quo preceptum noverat: Reddite quae sunt cesaris, cesari, et quae sunt Dei, Deo'. The dating of the *Vita Chunradi* is contested and the years given here reflect the upper and lower limits of the attributions by Haarländer, Schmale and others. See Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 517.

the bishop had acted as a pillar through his support for Henry IV.[185] While Matthew 22:21 might increasingly denote service to an episcopal city, rather than the king, the evidence here of any fundamental change is decidedly slight.

Indeed, many descriptions of familiarity with kings, and marks of royal favour, contradict the suggestions that have been made of a greater reserve towards associations with kings. The *Vita Annonis Minor* recorded how Anno of Cologne gained the friendship of the royal court, and Henry III's favour, because he was keen to succeed in his service to God.[186] Many *vitae* included similar accounts. The *Life* of Conrad of Salzburg opens by recalling how Conrad's father brought his sons to Henry IV's attention, commending 'their elegance of body to the sight and pleasure of the Emperor'.[187] The first *Life* of Otto of Bamberg, written c. 1151/1152, recounted how Otto served Henry IV prior to becoming bishop. The author, possibly Wolfger of Prüfening, explained that the king 'although happy in other respects... often experienced the ill luck of misfortune on account of her [his sister Judith], and because he had not been able to maintain her respectably'.[188] When Henry sought a marriage for her, Otto 'concerned himself with this business for the sake of the king's honour and that of the kingdom'.[189] He constantly suggested to Władysław, the duke of Poland, that he should marry Judith, because 'she was the daughter of a king and the brother of another': the match would both benefit his honour and help him maintain peace.[190] After the duke followed the 'sound advice of this prudent man', Otto acted as Judith's archchaplain in Poland at Henry's command.[191] After serving her for many years, he became inseparable from Henry IV, with the king making Otto his chancellor and an most esteemed member of his court.[192] Otto was not alone in aiding the German kings through this office: Archbishop Norbert of Xanten was

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[185] See Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 364.'Dialogus de vita s. Ottonis', 338-339.
[186] *Vita Annonis Minor,* 10-13.
[187] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 63 'principis aspectui et gratiae offerret et munificentiae commendaret'. The *Vita Wernheri* included a similar story, taken from the *Life* of St Pauline of Thuringia, regarding how the saint's father had gained the favour and confidence of Henry IV at his court by his manners, loyalty, counsel, and nobility. *Vita Wernheri,* MGH 12, c. 1, 245.
[188] *Noble Society: Five Lives from Twelfth-Century Germany,* trans. Jonathan R. Lyon (Manchester, 2017), 102-103; 'Vita Ottonis I', in *Heiligenleben zur deutsch-slawischen Geschichte. Adalbert von Prag und Otto von Bamberg,* ed. L. Weinrich (Darmstadt, 2005), 124-125. See also the accounts of Otto's service to Judith in 'Vita Ottonis II', in *Heiligenleben zur deutsch-slawischen Geschichte. Adalbert von Prag und Otto von Bamberg,* ed. L. Weinrich (Darmstadt, 2005), 202-203 and 'Dialogus de vita s. Ottonis', in *Heiligenleben zur deutsch-slawischen Geschichte. Adalbert von Prag und Otto von Bamberg,* ed. L. Weinrich (Darmstadt, 2005), 476-479.
[189] *Noble Society,* 102; 'Vita Ottonis I', 124-125.
[190] *Noble Society,* 102; 'Vita Ottonis I', 124-125.
[191] *Noble Society,* 102; 'Vita Ottonis I', 124-125.
[192] *Noble Society,* 103; *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 399 also described how Archbishop Engelhard (1051-1063) found favour with the king and the princes by adapting to both high and low.

well-known at the royal palace for his nobility and skill in worldly affairs,[193] and had accompanied Lothar III to Italy as the king's chancellor.[194] Arnold of Selenhofen was equally praised, during his own time in that office, for his care for widows and orphans as 'a second emperor by the emperor's side'.[195]

Authors took pride in the prominence of these bishops within the Empire and in the *Königsnähe* they enjoyed. For all his doubts, Adam of Bremen noted that foreign rulers congratulated Henry III on how the realm was run through Adalbert's counsel and highlighted that during Henry IV's minority the realm's welfare had depended on Adalbert and Anno of Cologne.[196] Adam even claimed that Adalbert alone was capable of loving the king, as he protected his rule 'for the sake of what is right, not for the sake of his own advantage'.[197] The *History* of Eichstätt, written around 1078, emphasised that Bishop Gebhard (r. 1042-1057) was among the most virtuous princes of the Empire, appointed to administer imperial affairs, and, after he became duke of Bavaria, the 'most powerful man after the king, who towered over him only by the royal throne'.[198] Benno of Osnabrück's services to Henry IV before he became bishop were recorded by Norbert of Iburg, who praised the king's renewal of Speyer, which had 'almost ceased to be an episcopal city'. It had been the king's generosity that had attracted Benno to this 'flourishing centre of learning' in the first place.[199] Benno later attended Henry's court at Goslar before serving the king as the master of the cathedral school at Hildesheim, the bishop of which desired Benno 'to take

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[193] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 412 'quem in suo sepius servitio habebat in palatio imperator Heinricus, quia non solum nobilitate, sed et omni genere probitatis gloria et secularium negotiorum industria fuerat specialiter insignitus'.

[194] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 414 'Nam octavo ordinationis sue anno cum rege Lothario reliquisque principibus in Italiam profectus et officio cancellarii in illa expeditione functus, utpote vir magne auctoritatis, consilio providus, apud Romanorum quoque primos clarus, cum plurima illic de ordinatione ipsius imperatoris et ceteris regni negotiis'. He also remained with the emperor at court for six months to the Empire's benefit.

[195] *Vita Arnoldi,* 56-57 'quasi alter imperator in latere imperatoris'. Arnold had been made chancellor by King Conrad III in 1151, cf. 56, n. 33.

[196] Adam of Bremen, *History,* 140-142; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte,* 174-177.

[197] Adam of Bremen, *History,* 147-148; *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte,* 183 'regi, quem solus, ipse diligens imperium pro iure, non pro suo commodo tueri videretur'.

[198] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis,* ed. and trans. Stefan Weinfurter (Regensburg, 1987), 90-91, 62-63 'Eo tempore cum secundus a rege esset rexque eum solo regni solio precederet...'

[199] *Vita Bennonis,* 378-379 'Eo vero tempore, quo urbs Spira in Rheni littore posita paupercula et vetustate collapsa pene iam episcopium esse desierat, imperatorum, qui nunc ibi conditi iacent, studio et religione, ut nunc ibi cernitur, reformata convaluit . . . Cumque pluriam eodem tempore de toto regno illuc undique clericorum turba concurreret, eo quod circumquaque flagrans imperiale studium studium etiam litterarum inibi ardentissimum florere fecisset, contigit et domimum Bennonem, qui se semper miscere consueverat, regia munificentia accitum eidem interesse palestrae'.

part in affairs of state'.[200] Benno subsequently became Henry IV's chief advisor.[201] Henry IV waited until a bishopric fell vacant in Saxony because he wished to keep Benno close, but the bishop's biographer also claimed his architectural expertise was responsible for binding him and the king 'in inseparable friendship': the consequences were clear from both the fortifications Benno helped Henry construct in Saxony as well as at Speyer, where Benno saved the cathedral from collapsing into the Rhine.[202] Benno's 'exceedingly good standing with Henry' had ensured that almost all the court's affairs were conducted at his discretion.[203] The continuation to the *Gesta Trevorum*, written around 1132, similarly claimed that archbishop Bruno of Trier (r. 1101-1124) was 'so excellent in all things, that even in the administration of the affairs of the Empire, the advice, knowledge, and influence of none of the princes was held to be more important'. The emperor called the archbishop his father and honoured him above all others and especially, the author stressed, more than any other bishop.[204] The chronicler glossed over the fact that Henry V was an adult when he came to the throne, claiming instead that, on Henry IV's death, his heir had been entrusted to Bruno, 'so that he would keep the kingdom in order by his prudence and the heir to the kingdom by the honour and discipline of his customs'.[205]

Unsolicited acts of royal favour and generosity, as well as positions of dominance at court, were recorded with pride.[206] The Cambrai *Gesta* noted that, even while besieging the the city of Troia, Henry II had time to think of Bishop Gerard and to send him gifts. When campaigning together in Apulia, the king had taken the prelate to the monastery of Sains-les-Marquion, honoured him with yet more gifts, and then allowed him to return home with his

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[200] *Vita Bennonis*, 380-381 'aliquando etiam publicis negotiis concionatorem praeesse decrevit'.
[201] *Vita Bennonis*, 388-389.
[202] *Vita Bennonis*, 398-399 'Praeterea autem architectus praecipuus, cementarii operis solertissimus erat dispositor, qua etiam ex re regi supra dicto inseparabili semper fuit familiaritate devinctus'.
[203] *Vita Bennonis*, 388-389 'Fuit itaque apud Henricum adhuc puerum quartum huius nominis regem vehementer acceptus, eiusque pene arbitrio infra palacium cuncta gerebantur, sed et popularibus turbis non minoris est habitus...'.
[204] *Gesta Treverorum*, MGH SS 8, 193 'Verum, ut breviter concludam, talem se omnimodis exhibebat, ut in administrandis quoque regni negociis ex omnibus principibus consilio et sapientia et auctoritate nullus eo subimior haberetur, adeo ut imperator patrem suum eum vocaverit et maiorem ceteris ei honorem inpenderit'. Like Benno, was appointed *vice dominus regiae curiaem* after Henry IV's death.
[205] *Gesta Treverorum*, MGH SS 8, 193 'defuncto imperatore, communi consilio principum vicedomnus regiae curiae effectus est, et regnum regnique heres, Henricus videlicet nominis huius quintus rex, adhuc adolescens circiter annos, ei committitur, ut et regnum sua prudentia disponeret et heredem regni morum suorum honestate et disciplina, qua ipse prae omnibus pollebat, informaret, quousque in virum perfectum aetate et sapientia educatus succrevisset'.
[206] The court also provided opportunities for archbishops to receive favour from the princes. The *Vita Arnoldi* claimed that, while on campaign in Italy, the princes competed with one another to offer their quarters to the archbishop. He finally chose to stay with Count Palatine Conrad, because he was related to the emperor and because his quarters were close to the court and commanded good views. *Vita Arnoldi*, 124-127.

good-will.[207] Royal authority, more generally, provided a benchmark with which authors could exaggerate episcopal authority. Duke Bolesław III, for instance, was said to have explained to Otto of Bamberg that he had agreed to his counsel to secure a just peace, but would not have done so for anyone else, even the German king.[208] Otto's biographer put a favourable gloss on Lothar's demand for Otto to return to his diocese: the court had become so distressed by the loss of Otto's counsel, the author claimed, that they would confiscate the bishop's property if he refused their demand.[209]

A particularly striking example of royal familiarity and friendship, largely ignored in previous studies of the *vitae*, relates to Bishop Hartmann of Brixen (r. 1140-1164) and Frederick Barbarossa. The *Vita Hartmanni*, written around 1200 to secure the bishop's canonisation, claimed that Frederick honoured clerics and monks and was not ashamed to kiss the feet of priests after they said Mass.[210] Frederick regarded Hartmann with filial devotion, exempting him from the payments and impositions owed by other bishops and deferring to him in all matters. The emperor confessed his sins humbly to his spiritual father, sought his intercession in prayer, and the bishop even consecrated a portable altar for the emperor.[211] Though the number of biographies covering Frederick's reign were remarkably few (only the *Life* of Hartmann and that of Arnold of Selenhofen, along with several *gestae*, offer any coverage), the image of royal and episcopal behaviour they convey is particularly important. The *Vita Hartmanni* provides an example, at the very end of our period, in which the author stressed the familiarity enjoyed by the bishop with the king, one framed, uniquely, in terms of spiritual subordination: such an account is a far cry from the critical distance seen as typical of twelfth-century *vitae*.

Some episcopal biographers and chroniclers certainly considered royal service and favour primarily as a means to advance diocesan interests. That quest for royal privileges could be taken to striking lengths. However, the focus of previous interpretations has somewhat exaggerated the importance of these concerns: those *vitae* which continued to

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[207] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 193; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 470. *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 393 also lists gifts Archbishop Tagino received from the emperor because of his loyalty and service.
[208] 'Vita Ottonis II', 256-259.
[209] 'Vita Ottonis II', 264-267.
[210] John Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: the Prince and the Myth* (New Haven, 2016), 37-38 suggested that the author may have had a copy of the *Deeds of Frederick* at his side while writing the *Vita*. Rahewin singled out Hartmann as Frederick's spiritual advisor and confidant.
[211] *Vita beati Hartmanni Episcopi Brixiensis (1140-64)* ed, Anselm Sparber (Innsbruck, 1940), 58-60.

stress the value of royal familiarity, favour, and service at court, and which highlighted the proximity of their bishop to the king, are no less significant. In addition, the honour of both the Empire and the king was pursued both before and after clerics had assumed a bishopric.[212] Authors did not only cite the material benefits of royal service, but were also keen to stress the prominence of their bishops within the Empire, at the court, and in relation to other princes. Royal favour, in this context, was certainly not seen as declining in relevance or importance: it enhanced the prominence of these bishops and remained something to be celebrated by their biographers.

The court and the diocese

As we have seen, the royal court was not completely absent from the accounts provided in the *vitae* and *gesta.* This naturally raises several questions, particularly in relation to our comparison with England. Did German authors attach the same level of moral and political importance to the royal court as their English counterparts? Did they likewise consider it to be a moral battleground, control of which decided the fate of the kingdom? In short, why, and perhaps more importantly where, was royal favour in the Empire thought to matter for the episcopate?

Some authors, for example, highlighted that royal favour offered not only protection at court, but also, more importantly, in a bishop's diocese and even in foreign lands. Rupert of Deutz, writing around 1119, likened Otto III's friendship to 'the wall or a very high tower': the emperor's death, and the collapse of that 'wall' left Heribert of Cologne vulnerable to his enemies.[213] The bishops of Cambrai felt similarly vulnerable in the king's absence. Bishop Tetdo was assaulted by his vassals, according to the *Gesta*, 'because they [the bishop's vassals] knew that the emperor was occupied by the business of the aforementioned war... they gained the feeling of security that comes from impunity'.[214] When Count Baldwin IV of Flanders attacked Bishop Erluin (r. 995-1012), the latter went to the court to enlist the king's aid, but the episcopal chronicler gave no information as to what

[212] Plassman, 'Corrupted by Power', 62 takes an opposing view here based on the evidence she has drawn on from the eleventh century (which includes some overlap with the examples here).
[213] *Vita Heriberti*, 47 'muri vel precelse turris'.
[214] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 98; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 441 'Quoniam namque imperatorem, malorum scilicet tortorem, in predicti belli negotiis occupatum noverant, ideo impunitatis securitatem colligentes...'.

transpired there, simply writing that the bishop 'remained away for some time'.[215] Royal authority naturally appeared to the author as a distant force, appealed to for help within the diocese: the author was far less concerned by what occurred at the court itself. The bishops of Cambrai were instead, as the episcopal chronicler recognised, representatives of the king's authority on the Empire's frontier, responsible for ensuring that conflicts did not escalate to a scale that required the emperor's intervention at inconvenient moments.[216]

Yet, conversely, the German king's reputation might itself provide protection abroad. The second *Life* of Otto of Bamberg, written by Ebo of Michelsberg between 1151 and 1159, recorded how the Polish duke warned Otto's enemies of the bishop's closeness to Lothar. Given that the king venerated Otto as a father, and followed his advice in all matters, Lothar would surely eradicate from the Earth any who sought to cause him harm.[217] The same *Life* has Otto himself claim to be protected by the respect his enemies showed towards the emperor.[218] Royal favour thus mattered because it could, sometimes at least, provide protection. It was not, however, as in England, a means through which one pursued moral oversight of king, court, or kingdom.

The difference is especially marked when set alongside Carolingian examples.[219] Stuart Airlie discussed how the late Frankish court was a 'phenomenon of values and beliefs... more than a job centre and a political centre... it was the moral centre'.[220] In the late eleventh and twelfth-century *vitae* and *gesta* from Germany, positions of honour and marks of royal favour at the court were certainly recorded with pride.[221] But the court itself received little attention, beyond acting as a backdrop for such incidents. Its image as the realm's moral and political centre, so prominent in English *vitae,* is absent. Indeed, the contrast between twelfth-century England and Germany is more marked than that between the latter and the Carolingian era. While the duty of episcopal moral oversight, over courts and kings, was much emphasised by authors during that latter period, we also found in chapter 1 that

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[215] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 115; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 452 'Ubi sane tamdiu demoratus est...'.
[216] See *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 7-9 as well as *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 187; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 466-467; *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 190; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 469 for further examples.
[217] 'Vita Ottonis II', 252-253.
[218] 'Vita Ottonis II', MGH SS 12, 869 'et Romani principis respectu'.
[219] See above, 86-93.
[220] Stuart Airlie, 'The Palace of Memory: the Carolingian Court as Political Centre', in his *Power and its Problems in Carolingian Europe* (Farnham, 2012), 1-23, at 3-4.
[221] Otto of Bamberg and Norbert of Xanten, among others, were held in high esteem at the court, although for the latter, the contrast with this former life is also emphasised. *Vita Norberti A,* MGH SS 12, 675; *Vita Bennonis,* 388-389.

examples of episcopal admonition of kings were not quite as numerous in the Carolingian *vitae* and *gesta* as one might have supposed. This makes it all the more intriguing that the duty to admonish the royal court emerged so forcefully in England, while being almost entirely absent in the equivalent materials in Germany. The same is true of the opponents of admonishing bishops we encountered in chapter 3. Aside from being mentioned in the *Vita Meinwerci* as intercessors, queens are rarely mentioned in the German *vitae* and *gesta* and were certainly not regarded as responsible for the court's moral quality. In fact, that aspect received hardly any attention at all.

Moreover, when the royal court was described, the ruler himself is rarely made the centre of attention. That is, even though we saw above a sustained interest from these authors in royal associations and connections, unlike in England, the court was not portrayed as the place where this counted. The *Vita Arnoldi*'s account of how the archbishop sought justice at the royal court against his abusers within Mainz serves as a useful example.[222] The archbishop's chief opponent, Arnold the Red, appealed to the Emperor, but made little headway.[223] When the prelate agreed, for the emperor's honour, to allow Arnold and the *ministeriales* to return to Mainz as penitents, they persisted in their wickedness, 'justifying themselves with imperial authority for such a great offence'.[224] Arnold then sought out the emperor, to whom, the *Vita* emphasised, he had rendered so many services.[225] The emperor and princes praised Arnold's patience, pledging their support against those who 'by this unspeakable act of daring, had shaken and thrown into confusion not only the archbishop of Mainz but also, through him, the whole empire'.[226] Arnold was particularly aghast that 'these ungodly men, as they claim, have dared to resist me so much with the authority of the Emperor and on his behalf'.[227] Arnold's arrival in the imperial camp was met with jubilation by the princes, who journeyed a mile to meet him and battled with each other to kiss him.[228] Surrounded by the princes, Arnold was accorded such veneration that 'the imperial majesty

[222] *Vita Arnoldi,* 70-71.
[223] *Vita Arnoldi,* 100-105.
[224] *Vita Arnoldi,* 105-107.
[225] *Vita Arnoldi,* 114-115. 'Sed cum in pravitate propositi sui eos perseverare et imperiali se auctoritate super tanto flagicio tueri cerneret'.
[226] *Vita Arnoldi,* 116-117 'quoniam hac infanda temeritate non solum Maguntinum, verum eciam in ipso totum concussissent ac turbassent imperium'.
[227] *Vita Arnoldi,* 118-119 'Ego autem paratus sum, innocenciam meam omni regno probare; et coram omni imperio cum ipsis contendere volo iudicio, et perscrutari, quid apud imperium promeruerim, quia isti impiissimi auctoritate, ut aiunt, imperatoris mandatoque suo tantum contumaciam in me presumpserunt'.
[228] *Vita Arnoldi,* 120-121.

rose and allowed him to sit, after he had returned the greeting in the "German manner"'.[229] Arnold then asked the princes urgently 'whether this embarrassing decision emanated from the throne of the Emperor' and 'whether he [Arnold] himself deserved it through his service to the imperial majesty'.[230] Arnold's speech was followed by cries of outrage from the princes who demanded the death of the offenders, so overwhelmed were they by his archiepiscopal dignity.[231] Arnold's appeals are notable for their references to his royal service, but the account focused more on the collective reaction of the princes, both in terms of the honour they accorded to the archbishop and their response to his treatment. The honour Frederick himself accorded to Arnold on his arrival at court was important, but even this was portrayed as an acknowledgement of the princely veneration already afforded. The evocation of royal justice and imperial majesty remained crucial: Arnold would not have been there without it. But actual royal interventions in the affairs of the court were minimal.[232] The emperor presided over proceedings, but he responded to, rather than directed, the affairs of those assembled around him. An even more striking, if somewhat different, illustration of the same phenomenon can be found in the *Gesta Alberonis*. Here, Albero of Trier's trip to the royal court at Frankfurt was mentioned, but the author dwelt on the glory, nobility, and expertise of the archbishop's entourage and how, on his return, he had terrified the people of Mainz by pretending to ready an attack on the city.[233] The royal court mattered as an audience for Albero's glory. The king was not even mentioned.

The royal court thus appeared as a venue for marks of honour and displays of prestige, but with far fewer references to the king than in the equivalent English accounts. Royal favour mattered, especially for the protection it afforded, but even that was portrayed in relation to the diocese and abroad as often as to the court itself. In England, by contrast, the court constituted a moral battleground, a venue for fierce and courteous admonition. The well-being of the English kingdom turned on the moral health of the king's soul and on the

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[229] *Vita Arnoldi,* 120-121 'Tante presulis reverencie maiestas imperialis assurgit et Teutonico more resalutatum considere iubet'.
[230] *Vita Arnoldi,* 120-123 'an cesaris throno hec tam seva emanasset sentencia, quod ministeriales sui coram positi sedem Maguntinam, patria rebus et honore ipso depulso, rapaci sacrilegio et latrocinanti tyrannide debuissent invadere; et domum oracionis, ipsum tribunal Dei viventis, speluncam latronum et omnis spurcicie lacunam exhibere mandasset; et an servicio suo apud imperialem maiestatem id promeruisset'.
[231] *Vita Arnoldi,* 122-123.
[232] A similar image of the king's role at court in the dispensing of justice emerges from Björn Weiler, 'The King as Judge: Henry II and Frederick Barbarossa as Seen by their Contemporaries', in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter,* ed. Patricia Skinner (Turnhout, 2009), 115-140.
[233] *A Warrior Bishop of the Twelfth Century. The Deeds of Albero of Trier, by Balderich,* trans. Brian A. Pavlac (Toronto, 2008), 70-71; *Gesta Alberonis,* MGH SS:8, 257.

efficacy of episcopal oversight. According to the *vitae* and *gesta*, matters proved rather different in Germany.

Rupert of Deutz's *Vita Heriberti* and the *Vita Meinwerci* described the clash between Henry II and Heribert, archbishop of Cologne, drawing upon the first Life of Heribert by Lantbert of Deutz written in the 1050s.[234] Rupert explained that Henry had turned against the bishop after Heribert had claimed that he was too ill to join a military campaign. Henry refused to believe the excuse, still suspicious of the archbishop who, after Otto III's death, had initially refused to provide him with the royal regalia.[235] If the bishop was really sick, Henry would visit him himself, the king's rage fanned by those who envied the archbishop. Rupert emphasised, however, that God 'did not allow this violent storm to progress and the ruler to complete his purpose'. Instead, the Divine 'came to the aid of both: Heribert, who suffered without guilt, and the ruler, who mistakenly sinned because he thought ill of the innocent'.[236] At Cologne, the emperor beheld a venerable man, dressed in episcopal robes (identified by Lantbert as Cologne's patron, St Peter), who told him:

> 'Emperor, do not in future sin further against my fellow-servant Heribert. I know that he is chosen by God, and if you act against him, you will undoubtedly pay the penalty'.[237]

God, in his mercy, had warned the emperor who, Rupert was keen to point out, 'did not knowingly order or decree anything in his kingdom by which the Heavenly Majesty might be offended'.[238] The king's actions were thus subject to heavenly guidance.[239] The emperor then summoned Heribert, who remained ignorant of the divine intervention, and embraced him, explaining that 'God himself reproved me on your behalf'.[240] Henry begged for the archbishop's forgiveness, kissing him three times as a token of their reconciliation, a self-conscious reference, Rupert suggested, to St Peter's threefold confession of love to Christ.[241]

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[234] Lantbert of Deutz, *Vita Heriberti*, MGH SS 4, 745, 748-749; *Vita Heriberti*, 69-71; See also *Vita Meinwerci*, 197-201.
[235] *Vita Heriberti*, 69.
[236] *Vita Heriberti*, 69 'non permisit procellam hanc hucusque procedere, ut perficeret imperator quod intenderat, sed occurrens subvenit ambobus, videlicet et ei, qui patiebatur immeritus, et illi, qui de innocentis conscientia male sentiens peccabat errore deceptus'.
[237] *Vita Heriberti*, 71 'O imperator, ne posthac amplius pecces in conservum meum Heribertium; scio illum virum esse Deo acceptum, in quem si quid admiseris, tu sine dubio portabis iudicium'.
[238] *Vita Heriberti*, 71 'Siquidem eiusdem imperatoris animam timor Domini possidebat, neque scienter disponere aut iudicare quicquam in regno cupiebat, per quod celestis offenderetur maiestas'.
[239] *Vita Heriberti*, 71.
[240] *Vita Heriberti*, 72 'ipse / me pro te corripuit'; *Vita Meinwerci*, 197-199 for a slightly different version.
[241] *Vita Heriberti*, 72.

With Heribert now seated alongside the king, his opponents fled in fear while others praised God. As Haarländer noted, there are important differences between Rupert's account and that of his source. Rupert stressed, more than Lantbert, that the scene was one of atonement for both parties, with the king accusing himself in direct speech.[242] Similarly, Lantbert had described the initial conflict between Henry and Heribert over the royal succession,[243] but Rupert smoothed over the event, noting the king's suspicion, but attributing it instead to envious counsellors and Henry's ignorance.[244]

This dramatic reconciliation still resonated in the twelfth century. As Haarländer pointed out, the event was considered important enough in the 1160s for a medallion to be cast depicting the dispute's resolution.[245] Around the same time, the *Vita Meinwerci* provided a slightly different account to the biographies of Heribert, the author instead relating the incident back to Meinwerk and his pursuit of imperial patronage. The *Vita* claimed that Meinwerk rejoiced in the reconciliation, 'which he had often endeavoured to rebuild, and he admonished the emperor to cleanse before God, through works of sincere mercy, the sins he had committed against the holy man, even if out of ignorance'.[246] Henry gladly followed Meinwerk's advice and rewarded him once again for his service.

Rupert of Deutz and the author of the *Vita Meinwerci* went on to describe how Bishop Eberhard of Bamberg (r. 1007-1040) received a vision of the archbishop on the night of Heribert's death in which an assembly, honouring Heribert, noticed that the prelate's belt was missing. When Heribert refused to cast any blame for the apparent theft, a member of the assembly announced that it was the fault of Henry II. Eberhard reported the vision to the emperor who recalled an earlier conversation with the bishop in which Heribert had predicted his own death.[247] To make amends for the theft, the emperor gave generously to the poor and the Church, honouring Heribert in recompense for having failed to do so during his lifetime. Rupert concluded that the vision had been made public for Heribert's honour and the emperor's betterment. In particular, Rupert dwelt on the archbishop's refusal to accuse the

[242] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 329; Lantbert of Deutz, *Vita Heriberti*, MGH SS 4, 749; *Vita Heriberti*, 73.
[243] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 325-326.
[244] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 326.
[245] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 329-330.
[246] *Vita Meinwerci*, 199-201 'Venerabilis autem episcopus Meinwercus de reconciliatione mutuae dilectionis, quam inter eos reformare sepe laboraverat, non modice letabatur et, ut peccata sua, quae in sanctum virum licet ignoranter commiserat, misericordiae operibus plenarie coram Deo dilueret imperatorem hortabatur'.
[247] *Vita Heriberti*, 80-83.

emperor directly. Far better, Rupert suggested, that 'the small hint in the vision...prompted the emperor to a work of mercy'.[248]

Rupert was not alone in reworking his earlier sources to downplay conflict and criticism.[249] Drawing on Thietmar of Merseburg, the Magdeburg *Gesta* described how Otto I refused to confirm Gero (r. 1013-1023) as archbishop. While celebrating a church feast at Pavia, an angel appeared to the emperor with a drawn sword, and proclaimed with a grim expression and indignant voice:

> 'Revenge for Gero will be the stroke of this sword. Be reconciled to this man therefore, establish him, so become wise again!'[250]

The terrified emperor duly obliged. In Thietmar's original, the angel had spoken in prose and the warning been more explicit: 'Unless you fulfil Gero's election today, you will not leave this place in safety'.[251] While the change is slight, it is nonetheless consistent with a wider tendency among biographers to downplay conflict. In any case, criticism was voiced through visions: oversight was celestial, rather than episcopal.[252]

There are, however, several exceptions to this pattern worth discussing. In the *History of Eichstätt*, bishops were happy to make clear their contempt for the king and his servants, but only up to a point. Bishop Megingaud (r. 989-1014), upon realising he had given supplies to a royal servant without cause, had the latter whipped: 'irrespective of his being in royal service', he reminded him that 'royal servants should not lie', especially to generous bishops.[253] Even on that occasion, Megingaud felt obliged to compensate the servant with a fur cloak before dismissing him in peace.[254] As with Hugh of Lincoln, displays of resistance

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[248] *Vita Heriberti*, 83 'Itaque vel modicum cause vestigium quod supererat ne accusaret eum, pulchre talis visio iuvit ad misericordie opera suscitans eius animam'. Cf. *Vita Meinwerci*, 199-201.
[249] The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, for example, described Bishop Lietbert's conflict with Henry III and how he was unjustly imprisoned by the emperor. As Haarländer noted, however, the *Vita Lietberti* preferred to conceal the conflict. Indeed, a twelfth-century copyist of a manuscript containing both texts remarked upon the difference. Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 339.
[250] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, MGH SS 14, 379 'Ultio Geronis erit huius plaga mucronis; Hunc magis adscisce, confirma, sic respisce!'
[251] *Magdeburger Bischofschronik*, trans. Hermann Michaelis (Dößel, 2006), 72 pointed out that in Thietmar's original text the angel spoke in prose: 'If you do not confirm Gero's election, you will not leave this house in good health'. *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, trans David. A. Warner (Manchester 2001), ii, c. 24, 110; '"Nisi", inquiens, 'in Gerone hodie compleveris electionem, securus non evadis hanc sedem"' *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung*, ed. R. Holtzmann MGH Script. rer. Germ. N.S., 9, (1935), 68.
[252] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 314.
[253] Plassman, 'Corrupted by Power', 56-7; *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, c. 20, 51 'oblito domesticatus consortio. . . "Non oportere", inquiens, "regales seruientes mentiri"'.
[254] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 51-52.

to royal servants could be followed by swift reconciliation.[255] On other occasions, the bishop was more forthright. When Henry II requested a *servitium* of alarming size, Megingaud replied to the messenger:

> 'Wicked man! Your master is evidently mad. How can I do him so great a service, I, who cannot even feed myself properly? Although I have a close connection to him by descent, he has made me a poor pastor by his actions, and now he demands a royal *servitium* from me?'[256]

The bishop claimed that the only wine he possessed had been given to him by the bishop of Augsburg, exclaiming, 'by holy Willibald [the founder of the diocese], not a single drop of this wine will flow into your master's mouth'.[257] When the bishop's wrath relented, he sent the king some precious cloths, explaining to the messenger that, for the bishops of Eichstätt, this represented more than a sufficient *servitium*.[258] The same prelate showed independence at court, riding on horse right up to the royal apartments. He silenced his fellow bishops by asking:

> 'You fools, should I be splattered with mud like a common slave because of your idle jests? What have I got a horse for, if I come to court like a walker covered in mud?'[259]

Where others stood as a sign of respect for the emperor, Meingaud remained seated, arguing that 'I am the elder relative, and to honour the elder is commanded by the writings of heathens and of the Church'.[260] Resistance to the king was rarely portrayed without qualification or compensation, and even in this example Meingaud's actions were related to his kinship with the king, rather than his episcopal status. As we saw in Rupert's account, heavenly, rather than episcopal intervention, played a more direct role in curtailing royal pomp. When Bishop Gebhard was elevated by Henry III to become Pope Victor II, he only accepted the papal office on the condition that the king return to the papacy possessions he

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[255] See above, 222.
[256] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 53-54 '"Pessime!" inquit, "dominus tuus aperte insanit. Unde deberem sibi tantum seruitium dare, qui nec memetipsum satis queo pascere? Ego quidem socius eius eram genere, sed ipse fecit rebus quasi pauperem parrochianum; et nunc regale poscit a me seruitium?' .
[257] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 54 '"Per sanctum", inquit, "Willibaldum, ne una quidem gutta huius uini intrabit in os domini tui!"'.
[258] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 54.
[259] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 54 '"O stulti, egone deberem propter inanes facetias uestras quasi uile mancipium luto aspergi? Quid michi equus caballus, si ad curiam uenirem, uiator lutosus?'
[260] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 54 '"Ego", inquiens, "senior sum cognatus, et seniorem honorare tam gentiles quam sacre iubent littere".

had previously stolen. The king's courtly pomp was then ridiculed when God sent a downpour to ruin the grand reception that Henry had prepared for his pope.[261] A rare account of direct episcopal *admonitio* comes from Rupert of Deutz. The author lamented how Otto III had failed to heed the advice of Heribert of Cologne, instead sleeping with the widow of the executed rebel, Crescentius, who then poisoned him afterwards.[262] The *Vita Meinwerci* recounted the episode in greater detail, explaining how the emperor,

> 'fell into the ambush of a wicked woman... because of the beauty of her body, the Emperor too recklessly took her as a bedfellow, without care for himself, and although he had been frequently admonished by St Heribert.'[263]

Rupert's account, however, though it admitted the emperor's failure to heed earlier warnings, focused above all on the grief caused by his early death: the ruler himself received remarkably little censure.[264]

A more significant example of episcopal oversight concerns Anno of Cologne, praised in the *Vita Annonis Minor* for his 'steadfastness and severity against the emperor'.[265] The *Vita* explained that Henry III ruled with wisdom, justice, royal dignity, and by God's instruction, but was obliged, before wearing his imperial robes, to confess his sins and to be flogged in penance.[266] On one occasion, when Henry was required to wear his regalia amid the festivities of the royal court, Anno reproached him 'with vehement frankness for what was a transgression of justice and after scolding and hard scourging he did not allow him to be crowned until he handed out 33 pounds of silver from his own hands to the poor'.[267] The emperor 'obeyed in everything concerning the eternal king and submitted to the will of the priest; only then did he appear in the purple'.[268] The *Vita* celebrated both the king's humility and the fact that the bishop could make such a request, the author beseeching readers to pray

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[261] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 66.
[262] *Vita Heriberti*, 48-49.
[263] *Vita Meinwerci*, 77-79 'incidit in insidias mulieris male, eius videlicet... quam formae elegantissime nimis insipienter thoro suo socians, ab ea non precavens, quamvis a sancto viro Heriberto sepius esset ammonitus'.
[264] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 323. Lantbert had only hinted that the emperor had been poisoned, *Vita Heriberti* MGH SS 4, 745.
[265] *Vita Annonis Minor*, 16-17 'De constantia eius et rigore circa imperatorem'.
[266] *Vita Annonis Minor*, 16-17.
[267] *Vita Annonis Minor*, 16-17 'Tum vero pontifex, qui sciret cor pauperis et vidue consolari, tota auctoritate sua utitur in principem vehementi libertate exaggerans, quicquid in equitatis transgressorem foret obiciendum, atque post increpationes dure flagellatum non aliter concessit coronari, quam suis ante manibus triginta et tres argenti libras in pauperes erogasset'.
[268] *Vita Annonis Minor*, 18-19 'Paruit in cunctis imperator eterni regis intuitu sacerdotis arbitrio subiectus sicque demum processit purpuratus'.

that the realm would always be governed by such rulers.[269] The king, led astray by envious courtiers, later turned against the archbishop, but they were reconciled when Anno predicted his imminent death, prompting them both to realise the feud must come to an end.[270]

The same work described how Anno educated Henry IV during his minority, claiming that, although the king was ungrateful, Anno 'by his education made him sufficiently fit for the exercise of such power'.[271] When the king later turned against the archbishop, the author was shocked: 'who would believe that a man of such moderation, whose nobility and glory no prince excelled, and who esteemed the great, could show such disgrace and who had been accustomed to show himself an object of fear even to great men'.[272] Anno, the author stressed, did not fear the princes and 'vehemently denounced and fiercely fought what was done wrongly in the kingdom, not hesitating to challenge the king himself'.[273] Even though Anno had once enjoyed the king's 'utmost familiarity' and 'had almost been accepted into imperial government', Henry still 'drove him shamefully out of the palace... inciting the whole strength of his empire to eradicate his name'.[274] Even so stark an example of episcopal severity and resistance was, once again, somewhat qualified. Although Henry had desired the archbishop's death, the king gave him the kiss of peace when the two met, the stunned observers at court asking 'where is the wrath, where are the threats, where all the curses that were common so recently?'[275] The author provided no explanation for Henry's change of heart.

The final example offers a considerable contrast to the incidents discussed so far. The *Life* of Conrad of Salzburg highlighted how the archbishop resisted and criticised the Salian kings, including, for once, the moral decadence of their court. Having established that Conrad had been persecuted by both Henry IV and Henry V, the author turned to the reasons for their

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[269] *Vita Annonis Minor,* 18-19.
[270] *Vita Annonis Minor,* 18-19.
[271] *Vita Annonis Minor,* 18-19 'Filium quoque illius, regni ac nominis heredem, suscepit regaliter educandum, quem licet non eque suis beneficiis responsurum tante potestati satis idoneum sua eruditione perfecit'.
[272] *Vita Annonis Minor,* 40-41 'Quis vero tante mediocritatis abiectionem crederet de viro, quem in divitiis et gloria nemo superabat principum, qui ipsis quoque magnatibus se tremendum ostentare consueverat?'
[273] *Vita Annonis Minor,* 40-41 'Hic est namque, qui in diebus suis non pertinuit principem, qui ea, que in regno perperam gerebantur, vehementer detestans et acerrime impugans ipsum in se regem provocare non verebatur'.
[274] *Vita Annonis Minor,* 40-43 'A quo, dum sepe in summam familiaritatem et pene in regni consortium assumeretur, nec tamen se desisteret pro iusticia murum ferreum opponere, de palatio contumeliose eiciebatur et ad extinguendum nomen eius omne regni robor concitabatur'.
[275] *Vita Annonis Minor,* 42-43 'Ubi nunc ire vel mine, ubi tot insultationes ante modicum habite?'. On the importance of the kiss of peace see Petkov, *Kiss of Peace* and Schreiner, '"Osculum pacis". Bedeutungen und Geltungsgründe einer symbolischen Handlung', 165-204.

hatred.[276] He explained that, although Conrad had always shunned secular glories, he had been forced to go to court to win back an inheritance denied him by his brothers. He had served as a royal chaplain to Henry IV, albeit only 'in this compelling necessity'.[277] Upon arrival, Conrad was shocked to discover,

> 'the same court a stranger to all divine and human honour... full of filth and wickedness, to such an extent that noble and beautiful abbesses and nuns possessed the first place of honour in the emperor's presence.'[278]

Conrad, forgetting his original purpose, began 'to hate and criticise what he saw everyday, and shamelessly to proclaim the shamelessness of the emperor'.[279] The enraged emperor plotted ambushes against him, but did not dare do so in public, partly because Conrad was protected by God's favour, but also 'because prominent and god-fearing men rejoiced that wickedness was criticised by him, which they saw and detested, but which they themselves did not dare to criticise'.[280] We even find a brief parallel with the use of humour in the English *vitae* when the author suggested that Conrad

> 'in many conversations, repeatedly and for the most part with jest, criticised the unpredictable conscience of the emperor which he [the emperor], bore towards him [the archbishop], with the result that he frequently annoyed him more in jest than in seriousness.'[281]

Neither Conrad's servants, nor the king, saw the funny side. When detained by the emperor at court as an act of intimidation, the prelate was forced to dismiss his knights and clergy who were 'rotting away with extremely severe fear'.[282] Far from frightening the archbishop,

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[276] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 64.
[277] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 64 '... hac necessitate cogente in curiam imperatoris se contulit'.
[278] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 64 '...eandem curiam ab omni honestate divina et humana alienam inveniret, plenamque sordibus et turpitudinibus videret, in tantum ut primum locum gratiae apud imperatorem haberent nobiles ac speciosae abbatissae ac moniales'. On criticism of Henry IV see *Heinrich IV,* ed. Gerd Althoff (Ostfilder, 2009).
[279] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 64 'coepit, intentionis pro qua venerat oblitus, detestari quae cottidie videbat et arguere, et impudentiam imperatoris impudenter predicare'.
[280] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 64 'Unde imperator zelo nimio contra eum inflammatus, indesinenter ei causas exitii moliebatur et clandestinas insidias, quia publice nec audebat nec poterat, partim quia divina gratia famulum suum protegebat, partim quia viri illustres et Deum timentes gaudebant argui ab illo turpitudines, quas videbant et detestabantur, sed ipsi arguere non presumebant'.
[281] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 69 'Multis preterea sermonibus frequenter, ioculariter maxime, vulnerabat iniquam quam adversum se portabat conscientiam imperatoris, ut nonnunquam plus ioco quam serio exasperaret'.
[282] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 69 'metuque gravissimo tabescere'.

however, the king ended up only tormenting himself.[283] When asked what was new at the royal court, Conrad replied:

> 'Great and unusual things unheard of ever before because an ostrich eating iron and a captive bishop are brought here, the archbishop evidently to be punished, because he has committed nothing worth of punishment and is about to die because he is innocent.'[284]

The king was forced to let Conrad go, the author concluding that Henry could not 'bear the boldness of an unfearing heart, nor was he capable of repressing it, nor did he dare punish it'.[285] Turning to his readers, the author asked them to note:

> 'the perversity of this most wicked king who was unable to love a just man, in whom he found nothing to accuse, and also the wondrous virtue of this most wise priest, who did not fear the ferocity of so powerful a man who was laying siege to him at every moment and who endured with such modesty that he could win by striking more heavily with a jest than with an insult.'[286]

Conrad thus criticised the royal court's moral decadence and the king in person, even through the use of jests (though the author did not dwell on this). Conrad's actions, in both respects, are without parallel in the other German *vitae* and *gesta* reviewed here.

As discussed further below, the author was keen to highlight the royal persecution Conrad suffered. The archbishop's severity towards the king, and his perseverance in the face of royal threats, were feats to be praised. Indeed, the *Vita* made clear that Conrad would have welcomed martyrdom at the king's hands. To explain this outlier in the German *vitae*, we can point to the possibility that this text was, in fact, influenced by an English example of resistance to royal tyranny. The *Life* of Conrad was written at some point between 1170 and 1184 in Salzburg. During the conflict between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa, the province of Salzburg had been alone in offering sustained resistance to the king and

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[283] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 69.
[284] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 69 'Magna et insolita atque a seculis inaudita: quia strutio ferrum devorans et episcopus captivus hic ducuntur, puniendus videlicet episcopus, quia punienda nulla commisit, et moriturus quia innocens est'.
[285] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 69 'Quod cum audisset rex, indignatione et dolore commotus misit ad eum, redire compellens; quia procul dubio ferre non valebat impavidi cordis audaciam, quam nec reprimere valebat, nec punire audebat'.
[286] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 69 'In his omnibus quis sapiens et intelligens non advertit et iniquissimi regis perversitatem, quia diligere non poterat iustum, in quo quid reprehenderet non invenit, et prudentissimi sacerdotis mirandam virtutem, quia tam potentis viri ferocitatem momentis omnibus sibi insidiantem non expavit, et tanta modestia portavit ut ioco gravius quam contumelia feriendo superaret?'

support for the papacy.[287] German kings rarely visited this region, unless at moments of extreme crisis.[288] The dating is also significant. Archbishop Conrad III of Salzburg, an ally of Frederick Barbarossa, was also a friend and correspondent of Thomas Becket.[289] In 1178 he founded a chapel in Salzburg, dedicated to Becket, which included murals of the martyrdom itself.[290] It is possible, then, that this rare instance of episcopal criticism and resistance, and even the portrayal of Conrad's desire to be martyred in the face of royal power, drew inspiration from Becket's famous example, one all the more relevant given the archdiocese's historic tradition of resistance to kings.

Nonetheless, the above examples are notable for contrasting with the more general absence of episcopal criticism of German kings in the *vitae* and *gesta*, a stark difference with the importance attributed to *admonitio* in the English *vitae*. In chapter 1, we highlighted the Carolingian model of a *ministerium*, whereby kings and bishops were expected to admonish one another, with both jointly responsible for the realm's moral, and hence its spiritual and physical, well-being. Specifically in a German context, Gerd Althoff has stressed how, from the Carolingian period, the clergy had inherited from the biblical prophets an important duty to correct kings.[291] Althoff further suggested that the emphasis placed by episcopal *vitae* on familiarity with kings was a means of demonstrating that bishops had access to rulers and, hence, opportunities for more forthright discussions.[292] While a plausible suggestion, examples of those very conversations in the *vitae* are rare. When placed alongside the equivalent sources from England, the lack of moral oversight of the king's personal, moral, or sexual behaviour is striking. There was no equivalent tradition, for example, of courteous admonition, even though the German episcopate, and the cathedral schools from which they originated, have been regarded as the harbingers of courtly behaviour.[293] Indeed, the *Vita Bennonis* praised the bishop's skill in language and persuasion, in terms not dissimilar to

[287] Graham Loud, 'A Political and Social Revolution: the Development of the Territorial Principalities in Germany', in *The Origins of the German Principalities, 1100-1350. Essays by German Historians*, ed. Graham Loud and Jochen G. Schenk (London, 2017), 3-23, at 5; Knut Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa: eine Biographie* (Munich, 2011), 410-412.
[288] John Gillingham, *The Kingdom of Germany in the High Middle Ages* (1971), 22-23.
[289] Conrad himself had been deprived of the archbishopric of Mainz after declaring his support for Pope Alexander III in 1164. *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury 1162-1170*, ed. and trans. A. J. Duggan, 2 vols (Oxford, 2000), 1: 246-47, no. 63 named Conrad as Becket's most 'singular and special, intimate, and beloved friend in the Lord'.
[290] Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket: Friends, Networks, Texts and Cult* (Aldershot, 2007), 180.
[291] Gerd Althoff, *Kontrolle der Macht: Formen und Regeln politischer Beratung im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2016), 14, 26, 311-319.
[292] Althoff, *Kontrolle der Macht*, 28 citing Haarländer.
[293] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, esp. 76-117; Jaeger, 'Courtier Bishop', 291-325; Jaeger, *Origins*, 39-42.

those of Gregory the Great or the English *vitae*.[294] The difference is that such courtly behaviour was not connected to moral oversight in the way it was in twelfth-century England.

This absence is all the more intriguing when we consider that criticism of the German kings, especially of Henry IV, was hardly unknown in this period. In fact, it is hard to think of any reign in the Middle Ages that saw a more intense, and diverse, outburst of royal condemnations. Bruno of Merseburg blamed Adalbert of Bremen for letting Henry IV's passions run wild during his youth.[295] The *Vita Annonis Minor*'s discussion of Anno's severity may be read in the light of a wider controversy regarding Henry IV's minority, though we should note that the biography's portrayal of Henry IV was still positive in many other respects. Peter Damian, Werner of Merseburg, and, eventually, Gregory VII all lectured Henry on his royal duties and obligations.[296] Admonitions of the king, and especially his personal moral failings, were hardly in short supply.[297] Megan McLaughlin has argued that the charges levelled against Henry's sexual life became an especially salient issue in the late eleventh century. Henry's queen, Eupraxia, claimed before a royal court that the king had ordered her to be raped by his own soldiers. Other writers took up accusations of adultery, sodomy, and incest.[298] Opportunities to criticise Henry IV's personal conduct were certainly not lacking. But the episcopal biographers and chroniclers did not use them. To reiterate the point, not a single one of the German *vitae* or *gesta* reviewed here criticised Henry IV's personal and sexual conduct. Nor were such criticisms attributed to their bishops, even in those instances where the subject of the *vitae* or *gesta* was opposed to the king. Unlike their English counterparts, they did not portray admonition of the king's personal life as a duty of the German episcopate.

Investiture Conflict: Mediation and conflict

The Investiture Contest has played a fundamental role in modern narratives regarding royal and episcopal power in this period. How the *vitae* and *gesta* discussed these events, and

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[294] *Vita Bennonis*, 382-383 'semper blanditiis in terrore respersus, ut peccantibus nequaquam sui odium arguendo infligeret, sed emendandi amorem'.
[295] Megan McLaughlin, 'Disgusting Acts of Shamelessness: Sexual Misconduct and the Deconstruction of Royal Authority in the Eleventh Century', *Early Medieval Europe* 19 (2011), 312-331, at 319-320; Bruno of Merseburg, *De bello Saxonico*, ed. H. E. Lohmann MGH Deutsches Mittelalter 2 (Leipzig, 1937), 14-16.
[296] Robinson, *Henry IV*, 14-15.
[297] A point also made by Weiler, though note the relatively small number of German examples and the general reluctance to criticise as forcefully and directly as in the English *vitae*. Björn Weiler, 'Clerical Admonitio, letters of advice to kings, and episcopal self-fashioning, c. 1000-1200', *History* 102:352 (2017), 557-575.
[298] See various examples from Bruno of Merseburg, Wido of Ferrara, Pope Gregory VII, and their recognition by the supportive *Vita Heinrici* as listed in McLaughlin, 'Disgusting acts of shamelessness', 313-331 and Robinson, *Henry IV*, 113.

how they referred to kings, clearly merits closer examination. Yet, contrary to suggestions that the Contest constituted their *causa scribendi*, the dispute, in fact, had only a minor role to play in the vast majority of *vitae* and *gesta*. In some cases, the Contest merited discussion for only a few paragraphs or a sentence or two. In others it received no attention at all. Although, in such instances, the Investiture Contest and its aftermath could well have constituted the proverbial 'elephant in the room', the relative lack of space devoted to it is worth bearing in mind, lest we be misled into attributing the event significance on the basis of the priorities of modern scholarship, rather than those of twelfth-century religious communities.

The tendency of episcopal biographers and chroniclers to downplay resistance to kings holds particularly true of the Investiture Contest. As we saw in chapter 2, the German episcopate were attributed a significant role as mediators, on this occasion between emperor and pope. The most striking example is found in the Halberstadt *Gesta*. Bishop Burchard II (r. 1059-1088) had been one of Henry IV's fiercest opponents.[299] He fought the king from 1073 until his death, supported the anti-kings, and was expelled from his diocese by royal supporters. The Halberstadt *Gesta*, however, claimed that his relationship with Henry, established before the outbreak of conflict, continued untroubled. The *Gesta's* portrayal of the king was even complimentary, noting how Henry had once held a royal court at Halberstadt at which he had confirmed the privileges of his predecessors.[300] Burchard II is introduced, by the author, as having enjoyed close contact with Henry since the beginning of his episcopate. The author then turned to how 'a most grave dissension arose between the kingdom and the priesthood', specifically between Henry IV and Pope Alexander II.[301] Burchard, motivated by losses already sustained by his church,

> 'established himself as mediator between king and pope with both faith and skill, and he did not cease toiling with all strength... until he transformed both the kingdom and the priesthood to concord and the honour of peace... he earned and gained such grace

[299] Lampert of Hersfeld claimed that Henry regarded Burchard as the 'leader of the whole Saxon rebellion and the originator and instigator of all the evils which flowed from it'. Lampert of Hersfeld, 'Annales', in *Lamperti monachi Hersfeldensis Opera,* MGH SS rer. Germ. 38 (1894), annal 1076, at 265; Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 93.
[300] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 94-95; *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium,* MGH SS 23, 97.
[301] *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, MGH SS 23, 97 'Huius etiam temporibus, regnante Henrico rege IV et presidente Romane ecclesie papa Alexandro, gravissima dissensio inter regnum et sacerdotium est exorta'.

> in both courts, that they were justly attempting to offer him and his church special glory and honour.'[302]

As Schlochtermeyer pointed out, the *Gesta* concealed the fact that Burchard's journey to Rome had been the initiative of a synod at Augsburg.[303] When the *Gesta* turned to the wars in Saxony, it concealed Burchard's role, describing only how Henry had returned from Italy in 1075, gathered a large army from across the empire, and fought several battles against the anti-king Rudolf of Rheinfelden and the Saxons. The *Gesta* noted that, with

> 'the empire... torn from all sides, the Church of Halberstadt was not exempt from these evils... because the lord bishop Burchard of Halberstadt did not wish to incur the charge of perjury, but adhered to the royal faith, he was expelled from his seat, [and] a certain Hemezo substituted himself.'[304]

The *Gesta* thus inverted what we know to have actually occurred: Hemezo was, in fact, an *imperial* counter-bishop set up by supporters of the king against the *pro-papal* Burchard. Rather than offer praise or encouragement, the chronicler had sought to erase Burchard's resistance to the king from the historical record.

This rewriting of the past contrasts with the portrayal of Burchard's successor, Reinhard (r. 1107-1123), whose conflicts with Henry V, and the latter's destruction of Halberstadt, were discussed. According to the *Gesta*, the king's opponents, who had defeated Henry at the battle of Welfesholz (1115), were aided by God and the diocese's patron saint, St Stephen.[305] Alheydis Plassman suggested that the author glossed over Burchard's opposition because the bishops of Halberstadt had reached a new understanding with Lothar III by 1125, though this does not explain why Reinhard's troubles were reported.[306] Goetz and Schlochtermeyer have similarly proposed that the reinterpretation was an attempt to justify a later, more pro-royal policy, with Reinhard's pontificate used to highlight how

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[302] *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, MGH SS 23, 97 'inter papam et regem mediatorem se constituens, totis viribus laborando de voluntate partium non cessavit facere suimet et suorum operam et impensam, donec ipse et regnum et sacerdocium reformavit ad concordiam et pacis honorem. Unde in utraque curia tantam graciam meruit et invenit, quod ipsum et ecclesiam suam merito conabantur preferre speciali gloria et honore'.
[303] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 95.
[304] *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, MGH SS 23, 100 'Procellosa vero tumultuatione, ut dictum est, imperium undique laniante, Halberstadensis ecclesia huius mali expers non fuit. Nam Saxonibus a fidelitate Henrici regis discedentibus, quia domnus Burchardus Halberstadensis episcopus reatum periurii incurrere noluit, sed in regis fidelitate perseveravit, a sede sua eiectus fuit, quodam Hemezone sibi supposito'.
[305] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 99; *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, MGH SS 23, 104. According to contemporaries, Reinhard took a leading role in the battle and refused to bury the dead from the king's side.
[306] Plassman, 'Corrupted by Power', 60.

conflicts with kings had brought destruction upon the diocese.[307] As Schlochtermeyer pointed out, the pontificates of Frederick (r. 1123-1128), Reinhard II (r. 1131-1135), Otto (r. 1149-1160), and Ulrich (r. 1177-1180) were marked by further conflicts, depositions, and schisms, with those bishops drawn into imperial politics to the detriment of their diocese, especially in the chaos following the double election of 1198.[308] Such events may have persuaded the author to urge that future bishops adopt a more neutral position towards their kings.[309] While plausible, each of these explanations looks at the Halberstadt *Gesta* in isolation, ignoring the patterns of behaviour that emerge when these texts are not treated as individual case studies, but read alongside one another. If we consider *vitae* and *gesta* as a whole, the author of the Halberstadt *Gesta* emerges as by no means unique, either in this emphasis on the mediating role of bishops or in his desire to downplay conflict and criticism.[310]

The Hildesheim *Chronicle* similarly described how the bishops had sought to avoid a break with both king and the pope.[311] The author condemned Gregory VII's deposition at Worms as unprecedented and tried to excuse the fact that Bishop Hezilo (r. 1054-1079) had signed it. The prelate, the author explained, had done so only under duress and had, in any case, later erased his signature using the tip of a spear.[312] Hezilo's wit and ingenuity, in avoiding conflict with either party, was much emphasised, while the *Chronicle* glossed over the fact that had been excommunicated for his opposition to the Papacy.[313] Bishop Udo (r. 1079-1114), under whom the chronicle was written, had been installed in his see by Rudolf of Rheinfelden, and Goetz suggested that the author sought to project a pro-papal position back into the past and gloss over Hezilo's loyalty to the king.[314] The chronicler was less keen to demonstrate the bishop's support for Gregory VII, however, than to show that the prelate could not be associated with either party. When Henry devastated Saxony in 1080, Hezilo saved his diocese from royal retribution by paying off the king, with no criticism directed at

[307] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 259; Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 99-100 which also explains why a redaction of the chronicle may have been produced circa 1113.
[308] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 100.
[309] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 100.
[310] Sean Gilsdorf, 'Bishops in the Middle: Mediatory Politics and the Episcopacy', in *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium,* ed. Sean Gilsdorf (Münster, 2004), 51-73; Sean Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends: Intercession and Aristocratic Politics in Carolingian and Ottonian Europe* (Leiden, 2014), 125-152.
[311] As with Halberstadt, Schlochtermeyer suggested that the chronicle was intended to urge Bishop Udo to abandon his resistance to the king, given the risks it posed to the diocese: Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 80-81.
[312] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 260; *Chronicon Hildesheimense,* MGH SS 7, 854.
[313] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 79.
[314] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 260.

the king's actions by the chronicler. [315] The *Gesta Trevoroum* made rather dramatic claims for the success of the archbishops of Trier in mediating between the two sides. Concerning Archbishop Bruno (r. 1101-1124), the author claimed that:

> 'he so firmly embraced his fellowship with the orthodox that he by no means refused his duty to the emperor, but without soiling himself by communion with the imperialists that would have offended the orthodox.'[316]

In fact, Bruno was said to have brought about the Concordat of Worms:

> 'So it happened that, thanks to his clever mediation, the emperor finally obeyed the Pope, and from then on they stopped being at loggerheads with one another.'[317]

In the eyes of the chronicler, peace and concord in the Church as a whole had been restored by an archbishop of Trier.[318]

The Toul *Gesta*, written around 1107, was reluctant to even discuss the crisis, let alone to criticise the king.[319] The author mentioned that the diocese was ravaged by royal supporters, but otherwise took little interest in the conflict.[320] The attempts by the bishops of Toul to mediate between the two factions were, by contrast with the works above, left unmentioned.[321] As Goetz pointed out, kings and popes are barely even differentiated in the

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[315] *Chronicon Hildesheimense,* MGH SS 7, 854.
[316] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 271. *Gesta Treverorum,* MGH SS 8, 193 'catholicorum amplexus est consorcium, ut imperatori debitum non denegaret obsequium, neque ita se caesarianorum communione contaminaverit, ut catholicoum offensas incurreret'.
[317] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 271; *Gesta Treverorum,* MGH SS 8, 193 'Propter quod contigit, ut novissime sua prudenti mediatione imperator apostolico obtemperaret, et deinceps desinerent esse discordes'.
[318] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 271-2; Regina Pörtner, 'Reichspolitik, Reform und bischöfliche Autonomie: Der Investiturstreit im Spiegel der *Gesta* Treverorum', *Mediaevistik* 22 (2009), 83-115, at 100-101. The *Gesta Trevoroum* left much unmentioned. Udo of Trier's role as a mediator in the Investiture Contest is ignored as are his negotiations on behalf of the king, his royal service in Saxony and at the siege of Tübingen, as well as his signing of letter against Gregory VII in 1076.
[319] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 304-305. The Toul *Gesta* continues until 1107 and the death of Bishop Pibo and was written under his successor Richwin.
[320] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 308; Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 165, 169-170; The Toul *gesta* was criticised by the editor for having too little on bishop Pibo's dispute with Henry IV *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium,* MGH SS 8, 631; Shlochtermeyer suggested that the author sought to show how Pibo had endangered the diocese. Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 169. *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium,* MGH SS 8, 637-638, 641-642, 646-648.
[321] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 308. Bishop Pibo had been accused of simony and, like most of the imperial episcopate, signed Gregory's deposition at Worms in 1076. He left the royal court at Utrecht the same year, refused to consent to Egilbert's election to Trier in 1079, and missed important royal councils in Mainz in 1084 and 1085. Though he later partially regained the pope's favour, he maintained a largely neutral position.

Gesta by name.[322] A more pro-papal position is, however, detectable, when the author characterised Bishop Pibo (r. 1070-1107) as having been 'alienated neither by threats nor by flattery of the royal power from loyalty and obedience to the holy Roman see'.[323] The chronicler claimed Pibo had not signed the condemnation of Gregory VII when, in fact, he had.[324] Attempts to demonstrate support for the Papacy did not, however, result in criticism of the king. Pibo's response, when his position as a papal supporter became untenable, was simply to leave the kingdom:

> 'when the aforesaid shepherd finally realised that the persecution on the emperor's part did not abate, but that some bishops in the entire German Empire, who were attached to the king, were condemned for disobeying the Roman throne, he did not waver in his steadfastness. He wished by divine inspiration to seek the place of the Lord's sufferings for the penance of his sins and came to Jerusalem along with Count Conrad and many imperial princes.'[325]

When Pibo had been obliged to return to the royal court after Gregory VII's death, he chose instead to go on pilgrimage, only taking up his position in Toul on his return and at the new pope's request. Obedience to the papacy was certainly valued by the *Gesta,* but this did not translate into any detailed treatment of the conflict, let alone praise for episcopal resistance or direct criticism of the king, whether from the bishop or the *Gesta*'s author.[326]

The Merseburg *Gesta,* written around 1136, provides an even clearer example of how these authors could ignore episcopal opposition to Henry IV. The author noted that Werner of Merseburg (r. 1063-1093) had been expelled by the royalist bishop Eppo, styling the original occupant as 'our bishop' throughout his exile.[327] Werner had not only been a close supporter

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[322] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 308.
[323] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 309. *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium,* MGH SS 8, 647 'Sed quoniam nec minis nee blandiciis regiae potestatis a fide et obedientia sanctae Romanae sedis venerabilis Pibo flecti nequibat'.
[324] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 309.
[325] *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium,* MGH SS 8, 647 'Denique videns praedictus pastor imperialem persecutionem minime minui, sed nonnullos episcoporum per omne Theutonicorum regnum adhaerentes regi de inobedientia Romanae sedis condemnari, non tamen de sui constantia ambigebat, immo instinctu divino propter peccatorum suorum poentitentiam locum dominicae passionis adire cupiens, cum comite Conrardo multisque regni principibus, ducente Deo, Hierosolymam pervenit'.
[326] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 309.
[327] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 260; Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 136-7; Chronica episcoporum ecclesiae Merseburgensis MGH SS 10, 183-184; Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 137. *Chronica episcoporum Merseburgensium,* MGH SS 10, 184-185 'pastor noster'.

of Rudolf of Rheinfelden, but had honoured the anti-king in Merseburg with a grave plate, a mark of esteem usually reserved for saints and patrons of the Church. Bruno of Merseburg's *Historia* was indeed dedicated to the bishop because of his steadfast resistance to Salian tyranny.[328] It is all the more striking then that, while the *Gesta* was certainly critical of Henry IV, it paid no attention whatsoever to Werner's leadership in the Saxon wars or his connections to the anti-king.[329] A final example, and a surprising one in light of the example provided by Conrad above, comes from Salzburg. As Goetz highlighted, in the *Gesta archiepiscoporum Salisburgensium,* at the end of the twelfth century, Pope Gregory VII was still being praised in the diocese as a second Eljiah, one zealous for justice and who had slaughtered the priests of Baal with St Peter's sword. Even in this text, however, the author preferred to ignore the pope's royal opponent, rather than criticise him directly.[330]

Nor was the mediating role assigned to bishops confined to the accounts provided in the *gesta episcoporum.* The *Vita Bennonis,* in particular, highlighted the bishop's ultimately fruitless attempts to secure peace:

> 'Through the utmost moderation, prudence, truthfulness, and fidelity to both sides, the bishop, during the whole period of struggle and turmoil, knew how to remain between the two parties so that he could, at any time, associate with both camps without suspicion or fear. The king never doubted his loyalty, even when he saw him in the midst of his enemies; on the other side, so little did he [Benno] doubt the king's faith, that he was never afraid to be deceived or cheated by him.'[331]

The *Vita* exaggerated the number of Benno's visits to Rome and his attempts to negotiate, even claiming that he grew a beard as a disguise.[332] On the dispute itself, Norbert of Iburg complained 'it could not be resolved by any man's reason or counsel', lamenting that,

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[328] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 137.
[329] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 138.
[330] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 260. *Gesta archiepiscoporum Salisburgensium* MGH S 11, 38.
[331] *Vita Bennonis*, 408-409 'Tanto enim se toto illo turbine bellorum prudentiae veritatis et fidei utrobique moderatione librabat, ut in utraque semper ei parte sine suspicione et timore conversari liceret; nec rex unquam, quamvis inter hostes suos eum manere videret, de eius fidelitate ambigeret, nec hi, quamvis regi fidelissimum esse non dubitarent, insidias unquam de eius fraude timerent'.
[332] *Vita Bennonis*, 408-409 n. 47. Benno, in fact, only appears to have travelled to Rome at the beginning of 1078 and in spring of 1079.

> 'no limit was observed by either side knew more of a degree, on the one side no measure of abuse and excommunication, on the other no restraint of violence, murder, and robbery. . . the hatred and enmity had come this far, that the fire of rage and bitterness could only be resolved through the deposition of either the king or the Pope.'[333]

This provided Norbert with an opening to explain how Benno personally had navigated the pope's deposition. At Brixen in 1080, the imperial bishops intended to depose Gregory, according to Norbert, because the pope had criticised their sins. The elevation of the anti-pope thus appeared, in the *Vita* at least, as an episcopal, rather than royal, initiative. Benno, realising that both sides acted with hatred rather than reason, pondered whether he could avoid a break with either party 'without damage to his old honour'.[334] Fortunately, Benno hid inside a hollow altar, where he prayed, realising 'with pain that this hour was one of trauma for the entire Church'.[335] After the election of the anti-pope, Benno emerged to the assembly's astonishment. Norbert stressed that decisions were made at the council which would never have had Benno's approval, had he been present (ignoring, of course, that the bishop could have intervened if he wished). Benno, having sworn to the saints that he had not left the room, purged himself of any charge of infidelity before the king, who 'preferred to urge him in a gentle tone rather than to admonish him'.[336] His friendship with the king intact, Benno 'was endowed with an extraordinarily fortunate skill, or rather his clever mind, to enjoy the friendship of both popes, which was truly only possible for a very few at that time'.[337]

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[333] *Vita Bennonis*, 410-411 'Igitur postquam inter regem et apostolicum semel exorta discordia nullo potuit hominum consilo vel ratione sedari, Deo profecto tot hominum offenso sceleribus deserente terras, abundante iniquitate et refrigescente caritate multorum, nullusque ab alterutra parte modus fieret, inde scilicet maledictionum vel excommunicationum, hinc vero bellorum caedium et rapinarum, eo processum est odii et invidae, ut, nisi rex deponeretur aut papa, tantae irae et inimicitiarum fomites penitus extingui non possent'.
[334] *Vita Bennonis*, 410-413 The whole passage reads: 'Videns enim in utraque parte plurima magis odio quam ratione tractari et regi semper fidelis, nunquam autem papae inobediens esse desiderans, sed et, quem tanta res finem habitura esset, ignorans, diligentissime intendere coepit, quonam rationis exitu fieri posset, ut salva honestatis pristinae integritate neutra in parte posset iure culpari'.
[335] *Vita Bennonis*, 412-413 'tempus, quo totius ecclesiae status quatiebatur'. Norbert even claimed that 'later, as if to thank an inanimate object', the bishop had an altar of the same design built in Iburg: 'ad cuius etiam similitudinem hoc nostrum altare postea ipse quasi insensibili materiae gratias reddens iussit extrui'.
[336] *Vita Bennonis*, 412-413 'qui illum tamen in fide pristina firmiter stare lenitate verborum hortari maluit, quam terrore constringere'.
[337] *Vita Bennonis*, 412-415 'Exinde igitur praeclara felicique prosperitate vel animi prudentia utriusque papae, quod profecto perpaucis ea tempestate possibile fuit, amicitia usus, regiam quoque nusquam incurrebat offensam'.

Benno's diplomatic skills were equally apparent on his return to the diocese. When Osnabrück was besieged by followers of the anti-king Hermann, Norbert stressed 'how much the eloquence of our spirited bishop could achieve'.[338] Bishop Udo of Hildesheim and Margrave Ekbert of Meissen, bound to Benno by personal friendship, asked for an interview with him, assuring their anti-king that the bishop would surrender.[339] During the meeting, however, 'they, who had come to win him over to their king, were themselves won by his speech to pledge allegiance to his king'.[340] Norbert further highlighted Benno's lengthy service to Henry IV at the siege of Rome, but stressed

> 'his actions were directed solely at establishing peace and unity between the parties... almost every day running as an intermediary between the king and the pope; it is said that he had made almost more effort in these peace efforts than he had in any campaign.'[341]

Unfortunately, Norbert complained, 'nothing could soften such stubbornness'. Benno renounced worldly activities and 'chose to stay out of imperial politics altogether'.[342]

Finally, Benno was even able to make the conflict work to the diocese's advantage. When forced to flee to the royal court, Benno occupied his time by securing a favourable verdict for Osnabrück in its dispute over the tithes claimed by the abbeys of Corvey and Hersfeld, Norbert assuring his audience that Benno 'did not let go pass unused the time of compulsive leisure at court'.[343] The bishop, he explained, 'had never had such convenient arguments... as at this moment'.[344] As Benno had abandoned everything for the king, he deserved a royal reward, one that would also persuade others to stand by the beleaguered

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[338] *Vita Bennonis*, 416-417 'Hic equidem breviter referendum videtur, quantum ingeniosi viri facundia valuit'.
[339] *Vita Bennonis*, 416-419.
[340] *Vita Bennonis*, 418-419 'ut ad regem suum illum converterent, illius potius regi sese fidelitatem velle iurare eius sunt oratione perducti'. Benno's persuasion was again needed when the people, seeing relics brought over for the oath to be sworn, assumed that Benno had handed over the castle to the Saxons. With great skill, Benno counselled patience and the siege was lifted.
[341] *Vita Bennonis*, 422-425 'Pene enim quotidie inter regem et papam internuncius currens, plus pene laborasse dicitur in pace facienda, quam in aliqua facere consuevisset expeditione bellorum'.
[342] *Vita Bennonis*, 424-425 'Sed cum nullatenus posset obstinatia tanta molliri, tandem, civitate tradita proditione civum... agere ab omni exteriori occupatione et prorsus a regni negotiis alienum'.
[343] *Vita Bennonis*, 402-403 'A quo admodum gratanter susceptus, aliquanto cum eo tempore conversatus, iam tempus advenisse conspiciens, quo decimationis suae iam tanto tempore violenter ablatae commodius posset causa tractari, ne spacium ingratissimi ocii in palatio degens prosus inutile duceret...'.
[344] *Vita Bennonis*, 404-405 'Erat enim ea tempestate post ablatae decimationis tempora eiusdem decimationis rehabendae commodissima ratio...'.

king.[345] Benno pointed out, moreover, that the current holders of the tithes were Henry's enemies and that their profits could only weaken his rule. Finally, twisting the knife, Benno suggested that because Henry

> 'seemed to have been abandoned by God in all misfortune because of his sins, he had to do everything in his power to placate the Highest Judge... whom he had insulted by countless sins, but above all by neglecting the administration of justice at almost every time of his life.'[346]

Benno's arguments, a combination of *admonitio* and blackmail, persuaded the king to turn the matter over to an ecclesiastical tribunal, though Henry insisted that he could reject its conclusions without harm to his own honour. Norbert included the king's counter-arguments. First, that the practice had continued under many of his predecessors and, second, that if he forfeited income from just one church, over time this would cause considerable damage to his successors. Eventually the king dropped his objections, agreeing to the synod's conclusion that he should be more concerned for the salvation of his soul and for his honour, than for the revenues of his descendants.[347] Benno even received royal permission to travel to Rome to have the judgement confirmed.[348] For Norbert, it was one of Benno's greatest achievements that, amid the chaos of the Saxon wars and the Investiture Contest, the bishop had solved a problem which had eluded his predecessors since the reign of Louis the Pious.

Alongside the relative lack of criticism of Henry IV, some authors blamed Gregory VII for the conflict. The Halberstadt *Gesta* claimed that Hildebrand's name literally meant 'hellfire' and accused him of causing the wars in Saxony and even of poisoning his predecessor, Pope Alexander II.[349] The *History of Eichstätt* portrayed Pope Leo IX as predicting that, were Hildebrand to became Pope, the world would be plunged into chaos.[350] Eichstätt, by producing its own pope in Victor II, had demonstrated that church reform was perfectly possible to achieve through co-operation with the emperor. Victor had shown his

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[345] *Vita Bennonis*, 404-405 'tum etiam quod ipse episcopus pro regis fidelitate, omnibus et amplissimis divitiis dimissis, ad eum nudus et profugus venisset, quam utique rege digna munificentia remunerari oporteret'.
[346] *Vita Bennonis*, 404-405 'Postremo quia iam rex pro peccatis suis a Deo in tantis miseriis derelictus esse videretur, omnibus eum iam viribus niti oporteret, ut iuste iudicando reconciliari posset supernae iustitae, quam plurimis iniquitatibus et secularium maxime iustitarum neglectu omni pene vitae suae tempore offendisset'.
[347] *Vita Bennonis*, 406-407.
[348] *Vita Bennonis*, 408-409.
[349] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken*, 95-96. *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium* MGH SS 23, 98 'quasi ticio infernalis est vocatus'; Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 259.
[350] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 64-65.

independence of Henry III by regaining papal rights and possessions upon taking office, but had maintained a friendly relationship with the 'glorious emperor' nonetheless, even taking his last confession.[351] The same pope had then continued to safeguard the Empire by acting as Henry IV's guardian.[352] Even after his excommunication, the king was praised for emulating his father's glory.[353] It was thus Gregory VII, rather than Henry IV, who received the blame for terminating an earlier era of co-operation between monarchy, papacy, and Eichstätt, a three-fold partnership judged by the chronicler to have benefited all Christendom.[354]

There was thus a tendency in episcopal *gesta* and *vitae* to downplay resistance, to expunge conflicts with Henry IV from the historical record, and to avoid explicit censure of the king. Such attempts contrast with the considerable criticisms levelled at the Salians in other texts, discussed most recently by Leidulf Melve. This reluctance provides an illustration of the divide, within the religious communities themselves, regarding their response to the crisis.[355] It is important to note, as Haarländer has done, that none of the king's *intrusi*, royal supporters whom he imposed on the bishoprics, received a *vita*.[356] We should nonetheless be wary of any suggestion that this absence reflects Henry IV's dismal reputation, not least because the vast majority of the episcopate lack surviving biographies in any case. Before we turn to the criticisms which were levelled at the king, we should furthermore remember that the twelfth-century memory of Henry IV was not simply that of a tyrant bent on oppressing the church, although there was certainly room for that. Some authors clearly felt comfortable portraying him in a positive light and that, in doing so, they would not be at odds with the sentiments of their audience. We have encountered several examples already. The *Vita* of St Willibrord, composed during the very nadir of Henry's fortunes, happily characterised the king as 'victorious and gracious', the latest of an illustrious line that stretched back to the Carolingian and Frankish period. Otto of Bamberg's biographers wrote with clear sympathy for the king, describing how he could read documents for himself and memorise them alongside Otto, the king's virtuous chaplain. The king

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[351] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 45; *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 65.
[352] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 66. See Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 46.
[353] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 66.
[354] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 47.
[355] On the wider 'propaganda' war between the two sides, but with little discussion of the *vitae* and *gesta*, see Leidulf Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: The Public Debate during the Investiture Contest, c. 1030-1122*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2007).
[356] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 342.

embraced and kissed the cleric when he mended his psalter, an anecdote which testified not only to Otto's service to the king, but also the latter's religious devotion.[357] After Otto had been elected to Bamberg with Henry's assistance, the bishop had continued to include the king in his prayers.[358] When the pro-papal archbishop Rutard of Mainz (r. 1089-1109) withheld Otto's consecration, a biographer dismissed him as a mere rebel.[359] Henry's patronage of both Speyer and of scholarship were also praised.[360] As Haarländer noted, this is perhaps unsurprising given that Otto (and Benno of Osnabrück) had been involved in Speyer's construction, with neither opposing the king during the Investiture Contest.[361] Yet it is worth remembering that these were proactive interventions on the author's behalf, made presumably in the knowledge of their audience's attitude towards the king. Benno's and Otto's biographers did not feel the need to downplay their bishop's support for the king. Even the *Vita Annonis Minor*, while including criticism of Henry, offered a surprisingly positive portrayal, both in the archbishop's preparation for his reign (which we might have expected to be disowned) and in the king's reconciliation with him after their feud. Even the mid-twelfth century *Vita Wernheri*, otherwise fiercely critical of the ruler, saw him as a fitting audience for an apparent miracle that occurred in Werner's presence.[362] Indeed, the twelfth-century audiences for the *vitae* of Otto of Bamberg were informed that the greatest problem to have confronted Henry IV during his reign was not any conflict with the papacy, but the task of finding his sister Judith a husband.

Criticism of the Salians

Other episcopal biographers and chroniclers did criticise Henry IV and Henry V, their oppression of the Church, and their persecution of bishops loyal to the Papacy, blaming them for divisions in the diocese caused by the wider conflict. Some of the *vitae* provide especially vivid and detailed accounts. The author of the mid twelfth-century *Life* of Werner of Merseburg (r. 1063-1093), possibly a cathedral canon, was especially outspoken.[363] The *Vita*

[357] 'Dialogus de vita s. Ottonis', 478-481.
[358] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 341-2. 'Vita Ottonis II', MGH SS 12, 827-828; 'Dialogus de vita s. Ottonis', 478-481.
[359] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 342. 'Vita Ottonis II', MGH SS 12, 829.
[360] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 340. 'Vita Ottonis II', MGH SS 12, 825; 'Dialogus de vita s. Ottonis', 482-483.
[361] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 341.
[362] *Vita Wernheri episcopi Merseburgensis* MGH 12, 244-248, at 247-248. This proved to be fake, but nonetheless inspired greater faith and zeal among the community when performing the sacraments.
[363] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 345. *Vita Wernheri,* MGH 12, 247.

described the pope's excommunication of the king and how heretics had overwhelmed the world, especially Gaul and Germany.[364] The author complained that some, pitying the king, disputed the justice of the papal decision or even defended Henry's innocence. Others 'of higher intelligence and caution' kept faith 'in a genuine, not in a hypocritical peace' and approved papal decisions as 'of equal strength to those of the emperor'.[365] Lamenting the destruction of the Church's unity, the author reported that 'spiritual shepherds were then ousted from their seats by imperial decrees' while 'courtly dogs drove the sheep of Christ to the teeth of wolves'.[366] Whereas Henry IV was criticised for his unjust rule and his construction of new castles, Werner was portrayed as a 'strong lion... against the adversary's tyranny'.[367] The bishop, despite his imprisonment and torture by the king, preferred to die rather than sully himself by contact with apostates. Henry then invaded Saxony to attack priests, regarded by the author as 'guardians of justice' who had wished 'with the strongest authority to end this insane outrage'.[368] Part of the biographer's task was to explain the bishop's conduct in the face of royal persecution. While he insisted that Werner was quite ready to suffer for Christ, the bishop had admittedly remembered the words of Matthew 10:23 and fled from Merseburg, even though 'he was not (yet) threatened with immediate attack'.[369] Werner had only been gone a day or two when he learnt, through a divine revelation, of a Saxon victory that allowed him to return home, 'shielded by divine grace'.[370] The *Vita Wernheri*, like many other episcopal biographies, drew parallels between such events and the Roman persecutions.[371] The late twelfth-century *Life* of Gebhard of Salzburg (r. 1066-1088) compared the royal persecution suffered by Archbishop Thiemo (r. 1090-1101/1102) to that of Athansius of Alexandria (c. 295-373) by an equally heretical ruler.[372] The *Life* of Altmann of Passau (r. 1065-1085), written 1132 x 1141, described how the king

[364] *Vita Wernheri,* MGH 12, 246.
[365] *Vita Wernheri,* MGH 12, 246 'aliis quidem ab unitate divisis, et quasi regis iniuriae condolentibus nec iusticiae locum fore apud apostolicam cathedram clamantibus, praeiudicium causae regis, quasi innocentiam eius defendendo, omnibus modis detestantibus; aliis vero altioris consilii et cautelae communionem universae ecclesiae fixa non ficta pace retinentibus, et ecclesiastica iudicia dominum apostolicum aequi ponderis statera librare iuxta fata canonum approbantibus'. On the notion of a hypocritcal peace see Malegam, *Sleep of Behemoth.*
[366] *Vita Wernheri,* MGH 12, 246 'Multi igitur pastorum spiritualium sede sua edictis perturbantur imperialibus, oves Christi lupinis dentibus lacerandae a palatinis canibus exponuntur'.
[367] *Vita Wernheri,* MGH 12, 246-247 'leo factus est contrariae parti tyrannide' quoting Ezekiel 19:3.
[368] *Vita Wernheri,* MGH 12, 247 'in sacerdotes Domini firmissima auctoritate vesano errori obviantes armatur, primum in eos rebellionis suae quasi materiam expetit, quos fautores iusticiae, quos vicarios Romanae cathedrae intellexit'.
[369] *Vita Wernheri,* MGH 12, 247 'ad tempus sedem mutavit, et locum adversariae parti nullo territus incursu dare non distulit'.
[370] *Vita Wernheri,* MGH 12, 247 'divina clementia comitatus'.
[371] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 344-345; *Vita Wernheri,* MGH 12, 246.
[372] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 344. *Vita Gebehardi I,* written after 1181, MGH 11, 41.

had replaced shepherds with wolves. The main criticisms of Henry IV thus centred on the chaos and violence he had unleashed within the dioceses, his intrusions echoing persecutions of the past.[373]

Occasionally, criticisms were directed at the king's character. The *Vita Altmanni* argued that Henry IV had been a tyrant from his youth and was now directly responsible for the Empire's devastation.[374] A lack of education had strengthened his 'lust and craving for pleasure', and he had become 'the beneficiary of all rebellions and the grim enemy of the well-meaning'.[375] When he reached adulthood,

> 'He, having scarcely crossed the boundary of adolescence, plunged wholly downwards like a horse or donkey, neglecting the care of the kingdom, a slave to gluttony and lust, converted the royal clemency into tyranny'[376]

He subjugated the Church 'like a maid under the yoke of servitude and sold all her rights in the manner of Jezi'.[377] The *Vita Altmanni* lamented the deposition of bishops, the hatred between the princes, and how the Empire was overthrown by bloodshed, arson, and robbery.[378] According to the biographer, when the realm's laments reached Pope Gregory, he called Henry to account as a king 'who did not rule but ruined everything', excommunicating him after he failed to answer for his crimes.[379] The *Vita Theogeri*, written 1138 x 1146, complained that the king had destroyed the unity of the Church.[380] The work singled out Adalbero (IV) of Metz (r. 1090-1117) as being 'of imperial origin, but unworthy of life and

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[373] *Vita Altmanni episcopi pataviensis*, MGH SS 12, 233-234, 236-237 where the author lamented the fighting that took place within Altmann's territory and how supporters of the Papacy were defeated by God's inexplicable judgement. The Verdun *Gesta* also focused on the deposition of bishops, approaching the Investiture Contest by claiming 'let us gravely grieve that many praiseworthy bishops were brought down by the dangerous times' 'Veniamus ad locum gravissimum, in quo, quod graviter dolemus, periculosa tempora plurimum laudibus digni episcopi detraxerunt*' Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium,* , MGH SS: 10, 495.
[374] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 345. *Vita Altmanni episcopi pataviensis*, MGH SS 12, 233, 236.
[375] *Vita Altmanni episcopi pataviensis*, MGH SS 12, 233 '... absque frenis disciplinae pro libitu delicate enutritus, fuit omnium seditiosorum fautor, omnium bonorum acerrimus impugnator'.
[376] *Vita Altmanni episcopi pataviensis*, MGH SS 12, 233 'Qui vix adolescentiae metas transgressus, totus fertur in praeceps ut equus et mulus; curam regni negligens, gulae et luxui serviens, regiam mansuetudinem in tyrannidem commutavit'.
[377] *Vita Altmanni episcopi pataviensis*, MGH SS 12, 233 'ut ancillam servituti subiugavit, dum omnia iura ecclesiastica more Iezi vendidit'.
[378] *Vita Altmanni episcopi pataviensis*, MGH SS 12, 233.
[379]*Vita Altmanni episcopi pataviensis*, MGH SS 12, 233 'non regentem, sed omnia perdentem'.
[380] *Vita Theogeri* MGH SS 12, 452.

morals', someone who oppressed the church to aid 'the godless king'.[381] Despite being deposed by the pope, he continued in his 'evil and daring debauchery' because the 'exceedingly inhuman and tyrannical' king had blocked papal messengers from Italy.[382] The *gesta episcoporum* written at Verdun also blamed the crisis on Henry IV, explaining that the king had been excommunicated by Gregory VII for many crimes:

> 'because of his wife Queen Praxeda, whom he had ignominiously subjected to pollution and insult by servants; because of various injustices and oppressions of churches; and mostly because he did not cease to give investiture of churches through staff and ring by the custom of his forbears, against the ancient sacred canons, when he had forbidden him under anathema.'[383]

The chronicler privileged the issue of investiture, but was also the only author reviewed here to mention the king's crimes against the queen. The author went on to describe Henry's attack on Rome, how he 'sacrilegiously captured the pope himself' during Mass (an incident which did not, in fact, occur).[384] The chronicler's focus then narrowed to the diocese, as he explained throughout the kingdom how

> 'each city split into two parts: some defending the cause of Caesar's court, others that of the holy apostolic see, and both pursuing the opposing party.'[385]

Both sides were guilty of excess: the pope excommunicated his enemies, while the imperial court captured, exiled, deposed, and violently persecuted its opponents.[386] The Magdeburg *Gesta* was similarly critical of Henry IV and the destruction he wreaked upon the diocese, and, like the *Vita Altmanni,* claimed that Henry in his youth had despised his mother's

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[381] *Vita Theogeri* MGH SS 12, 466 'ex imperiali prosapia oriundus, sed vita et moribus ignobilis, regis quoque partibus favens . . . regi impio'.
[382] *Vita Theogeri* MGH SS 12, 466 'Quod tum ob id maxime factu difficillimum videbatur, quia inhumane nimis ac tyrannice saeviens imperator fines intrarat Italiae...'.
[383] *Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium*, MGH SS:10, 495 'videlicet pro coniuge regina Praxede, quam ignominiose servorum stupris et opprobriis submiserat, pro variis iniusticiis et ecclesiarum oppressionibus, et praecipue quia investituras ecclesiarum per baculum et anulum dare ex consuetudine priorum contra antiquos sacros canones, cum ab eo sub anathemate esset inhibitus, non omittebat'.
[384] *Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium*, MGH SS:10, 495-496 'At Heinricus super hoc infensus Romam bello irrupit, ipsum papam missarum sollempnia celebrantem sacrilege cepit et in vincula coniecit, indeque a duce Appuliae ereptum, Roma eum exturbavit, et geminata iniusticia quendam Wicbertum a Ravennatium pseudopraesulem, qui per septem annos apostolicae sedi inobediens, rebellis et anathematizatus fuerat, cathedrae eius intrusit'.
[385] *Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium*, MGH SS:10, 496 'Tunc omne regnum in se ipsum divisum est, tunc omnis civitas in duas partes separata est, aliis causam caesarianae curiae, aliis sanctae sedis apostolicae defendentibus et adversam partem insequentibus'.
[386] *Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium*, MGH SS:10, 496, 498 on the local consequences of the dispute.

exhortations, acting only 'according to his own passionate will'.[387] When considering the pontificates of Archbishops Werner and Hartwig, the chronicler copied around three quarters of Bruno of Merseburg's *Historia*, adding material often of little direct relevance to the diocese, but which was fiercely critical of the king. The work lamented the insults and violence inflicted upon the diocese and Saxony by a king compared to an infidel and to Herod.[388]

The author of the *gesta* composed at Metz similarly blamed Henry for the conflict. Bishop Hermann (r. 1073-1090) was regarded as the king's opponent, despite having signed up to Gregory's deposition at Worms (an act the chronicler concealed).[389] The author admitted that the fearful bishop had fled to royal supporters, first in 1078 and then to Tuscany in 1085 to avoid the fighting.[390] Such fickleness destined the bishop for Hell until he was saved at the last moment by St Clement.[391] Although opposed to the king, the chronicler did not refer to Henry IV directly, concentrating instead on the terror that imperial power had unleashed upon the diocese, by imposing *intrusi* resisted by the diocese's more virtuous clerics.[392]

Some *vitae* and *gesta* did then criticise Henry IV's tyranny, drawing parallels between his persecution and that experienced in the early days of the Church and lamenting the chaos he had unleashed in their communities. They also, though far less often, pointed out his personal corruption, but only in one instance was there a reference to his marital or sexual behaviour. We have already seen that other biographers took a more positive view. The same was not true of Henry V. His image in the *vitae* was almost wholly negative, his past as a church reformer completely forgotten. The *Vita Theogeri* argued that 'the cursed heresy' of simony had been transmitted to Henry V 'as a hereditary right'.[393] The accusation of that heresy, explicit here, was often more implicit in the examples cited above in relation to his father. The same author condemned how both father and son

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[387] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 400 'Qui cum in annis adolescentie succrevisset, matris spernens monita, totis viribus post concupiscentias suas ire cepit'. The author appears to be drawing upon Bruno *De Bello Saxonico*, MGH SS 5, 330.
[388] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 400-406; Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 119-120; *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 407-411, especially 407.
[389] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 150; *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium,* MGH SS 10, 543.
[390] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 155; *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium,* MGH SS 10, 536-543.
[391] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 156. *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium,* MGH SS 10, 543.
[392] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 151-152. *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium,* MGH SS 10, 543. Henry V is also not mentioned
[393] *Vita Theogeri,* MGH SS 12, 466 'videlicet haeresis a patre ad filium velut haereditario iure transmissa pervenit'.

> 'endeavoured with zeal to obtain the honour of the Church with the royal honour, so that episcopal election was done according to royal whim and will.'[394]

The Verdun *Gesta* similarly claimed that Henry V, having deposed his father, 'became the same dead man's imitator in fighting the Church' and, 'following in the footsteps of his father', violently claimed the right of investiture after imprisoning the pope and his cardinals.[395] The Magdeburg *Gesta* argued that Henry had deposed the king under the pretext of piety, but then changed his behaviour, attacking the pope and caring little for justice.[396] Authors were especially critical of Henry's persecution of his father, drawing on the Bible to demonstrate the fate of rebellious sons. The first biographer of Frederick of Liège (r. 1119-1121), writing 1139 x 1158/1161, and that of Conrad of Salzburg, saw Henry V as a new Absalom.[397] A late twelfth-century *Life* of Adalbero of Würzburg (r. 1045-1090) also condemned the king with a particularly surprising interpretation of the Investiture Contest discussed in greater detail below.[398]

Several *vitae* made a more sustained effort to characterise their bishops as defenders of church liberty, who intervened to limit royal control over the Church. The 'A' version of the *Life* of Norbert of Xanten (r. 1126-1134) was written by an author who appears to have been German, knew the archbishop well, and accompanied him on a campaign to Italy with Lothar III, one intended to restore Innocent II to the papal throne in place of the anti-pope Anaclete II.[399] Norbert attended the expedition at the command of pope and emperor, the author stressing 'how necessary and useful he was for the Church while on this

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[394] *Vita Theogeri,* MGH SS 12, 466 'cum honore regio honorem quoque ecclesiasticum affectando id obtinere contenderet, ut episcopalis electio ex regio arbitrio et voluntate penderet'.
[395] The news of this incident, according to the author, caused division and chaos within Verdun itself. *Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium,* MGH SS:10, 500 'Ipse rex Heinricus IV primum annum tunc agebat in regno post patris obitum; quem patrem sanctae ecclesiae graviter insurgentem quamvis ipse filius custodiae mancipaverit, regni insignibus spoliaverit et usque ad mortem persecutus sit, tamen eiusdem mortui imitator ecclesiam impugnando extitit'.; MGH SS:10, 502 Anno dominicae incarnationis millesimo centesimo undecimo Heinricus quartus rex, post vestigia perfidi patris incedens, cum investituras ecclesiarum violenter sibi vendicaret, et papa sub anathemate hoc ei interdiceret, Romam ivit spetie quasi papae satisfacturus'.
[396] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 411 the author drew here on Ekkehard of Aura.
[397] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* 346. *Vita Friderici,* written 1139-1161, in MGH SS 12, 503; *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis,* MGH SS 11, 68.
[398] See below, 322-323.
[399] The 'A' life of Norbert of Xanten (1126-1134) by an author who appears to have been German and to have taken part in the expedition to Rome 1132-1133 (discussed here) and who knew the archbishop personally. See Wilfried Marcel Grauwen, 'Inleiding op de Vita A van de H. Norbertus', *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 60 (1984). 5-48, at 5-9. *Vita Norberti A,* MGH SS 12, 700-703.

expedition'.[400] Anaclete's envoys failed to enlist the support of the king and the princes but only 'because Father Norbert spoke against them'.[401] The archbishop then hastened to Innocent II and, though he admitted the pope should not be judged by any man, encouraged him nonetheless to attend the king's tribunal. He would, in doing so, protect his interests without staining his honour. Norbert's advice led to the defeat of the anti-pope's schemes and Lothar eventually placed Innocent on the papal throne.[402] When crowned emperor in Rome, however, Lothar 'with little forethought' requested the right of investiture.[403] Initially, Innocent 'seemed inclined to grant this request'. None of the other bishops dissented until Norbert 'stepped into their midst in the presence of the emperor and his army' to ask:

> 'Father what are you doing? To whom are you exposing the sheep entrusted to you only to have them torn to pieces? Will you reduce the Church to a slave girl when it was free when you received it? Peter's throne demands the deeds of Peter. I promised obedience to him and you in Christ's name, but if you agree to what is being asked, I will speak against you in the face of the Church.'[404]

Norbert's intervention saw the emperor withdraw his 'improper request' and the Pope rescind 'his illicit granting of it'.[405]

The *Life* of Conrad of Salzburg included a similar description of an archbishop intervening to restrict royal influence over the Church while bolstering an otherwise cowed Papacy. The *Life* explained that, when the prelate accompanied Henry V to Rome, he gradually learned of the 'treacheries of the most unjust emperor' and that the power to appoint bishops was to be handed to him by Pope Paschal II.[406] The *Vita* lamented: 'what wise and rightly judging man does not understand that this proceeding would be hateful to

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[400] *Vita Norberti A*, MGH SS 12, 701 'In hac expeditione quam necessarius quam utilis ecclesiae fuerit, postmodum patuit'.
[401] *Vita Norberti A*, MGH SS 12, 701 'contradicente sibi patre Norberto'
[402] *Vita Norberti A*, MGH SS 12, 701
[403] *Vita Norberti A*, MGH SS 12, 702 'Coronatus autem imperator ad honorem imperii et ad firmamentum foederis, quod cum papa pepigerat, investituras episcopatuum, libertatem videlicet ecclesiarum sibi a domno papa concedi minus consulte postulavit'.
[404] *Vita Norberti A*, MGH SS 12, 702 'Ad cuius petitonem cum inclinatus domni papae vederetur assensus... "Quid", inquit, "pater agis? Cui commendatas tibi oves laniandas exponis? Ecclesiam, quam suscepisti liberam, numquid rediges in ancillam? Cathedra Petri requirit opera Petri. Obedientiam quidem beato Petro et tibi pro Christi nomine promisi, sed si, quod a te postulatur, egeris, ecce in facie ecclesiae contradico tibi'.
[405] *Vita Norberti A*, MGH SS 12, 702 'se imperator ab inordinata petitione et apostolicus ab illicita concessione continuerunt'.
[406] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'et apparere doli iniquissimi imperatoris'.

God and adverse to the Church'.[407] When emperor and pope met to ratify the agreement, the latter confirmed that he was ready to 'fulfil at the dictation of justice what he had promised'.[408] Conrad, like Norbert, then intervened 'not in the least fearing or respecting the emperor standing close to him'.[409] Conrad asked the pope 'Father, how do you promise to do justly that which is against all justice?'[410] One of the king's attendants threatened the bishop, proclaiming Conrad 'was guilty of treason and the author of all evil, and he was now about to pay for it in full'.[411] In response, 'almost a thousand swords hung over the archbishop's head' and Conrad readied himself for martyrdom.[412] Instead, the king intervened, stretching out his arms to protect the bishop while shouting at his servant that it was not yet time for such an attack.[413] Conrad was then imprisoned alongside the pope and cardinals, the author concluding:

> 'let he who wishes ask himself whether this man would have hesitated to pour forth his blood for Christ if the period of martyrdom had found him, this man who for the sake of justice was not afraid to provoke against himself the wrath of so ferocious a king and the frenzy of so great an army.'[414]

The *Vita Chuonradi* was thus even more critical of the king than the *Vita Norberti*, highlighting Conrad's bravery and willingness to suffer martyrdom in the face of royal persecution.

The *Gesta Alberonis* similarly styled Albero of Trier (r. 1132-1152) as a defender of the Church, but through his use of ingenuity, wit, and disguise. Albero's achievements in this regard were judged as comparable to those of Alexander the Great and Charlemagne.[415] The

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[407] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'Quae res odibilis Deo, quamque ecclesiae Dei adversa esset, quis sapiens et rectum iudicans non intelligat?'
[408] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'Respondit ille paratum se adimplere dictante iustitia, quod promisisset'.
[409] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'nequaquam reveritus imperatorem sibi assistentem'. The author cited Proverb 28:1 to emphasise Conrad's bravery.
[410] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'Pater, qualiter te promittis facere iuste, quod est contra omnem iustitiam?'
[411] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'clamavit eum reum maiestatis et auctorem totius mali, idque eum iam luiturum'.
[412] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'Ad hanc vocem subito mille ferme enses in caput illius pendebant'.
[413] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 68 'rexque expansis brachiis et protegens eum clamavit "Noli, noli, Heinrice: nondum est tempus"'.
[414] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 69 'Iudicet qui velit, virum hunc, si tempora martyrii eum invenissent, pro Christo fundere sanguinem dubitasse, qui pro iustitia provocare contra se tam saevi regis indignationem tantique exercitus furorem non expavit'.
[415] *Warrior Bishop*, 27; *Gesta Alberonis,* 243.

description of Albero's exploits seem to have drawn upon popular and folklore traditions, which stressed how the powerful could be confounded by the intelligence of a humble cleric.[416] The *Gesta* boasted that

> 'even as a youth, when he was not yet distinguished by high ecclesiastical or secular office, he alone among all the people of Metz set himself against the pinnacle of imperial majesty for the sake of the liberty of the Church.'[417]

The 'self-made man... with the wondrous weapons of ingenuity and invention', accomplished much for the pope 'through his quick wit and resolution'.[418] For this reason he 'aroused against himself the most severe outbursts of royal displeasure, which he nonetheless most frequently evaded by virtue of his wonderful ingenuity'.[419] Balderich, the author of the work, explained that Henry V had imposed Bishop Adalbero upon Metz. When none were able to bring back letters from Rome announcing a subsequent papal interdict, Albero alone succeeded in placing them upon the cathedral altar by disguising himself as a female cleric carrying frankincense.[420] When Henry ordered Albero to be captured or killed, the cleric posed variously as a servant, beggar, and merchant, changing his clothes and dying his face, hair, and beard, to avoid detection.[421] Balderich even included a story regarding how Albero, disguised as a cripple, had come upon the king's army and accepted alms from the queen, later sending the latter thanks for her gift. He had then accompanied the royal procession as a beggar at the royal table, overhearing the king's plans against him and evading his traps.[422] On another occasion, knowing that royal agents lay in wait, he dressed in military attire and pretended to be chasing 'the devil of Metz' himself.[423] Balderich concluded that Albero 'by a thousand stratagems often eluded the snares of the king'.[424] With greater levity than the *vitae* of Conrad and Norbert, but with a similar focus on ecclesiastical liberties, Balderich

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[416] *Warrior Bishop*, 11.
[417] *Warrior Bishop*, 27; *Gesta Alberonis*, 243 'Cum enim adhuc in prima iuventute nulla fulgeret dignitate aecclesiastica vel seculari, pro libertate aecclesiae, solus inter omnes Metenses, imperialis maiestatis culmini se opposuit'.
[418] *Warrior Bishop*, 28; *Gesta Alberonis*, 243 'iste homo novus cepit miles mirabilibus ingenii atque consilii sui armis esse aecclesiae sanctae defensor'.
[419] *Warrior Bishop*, 36; *Gesta Alberonis*, 246 'Unde et regiae indignationis severissimos motus contra se incitavit, quos mirandis artibus sepissime evasit'.
[420] *Warrior Bishop*, 37; *Gesta Alberonis*, 246.
[421] *Warrior Bishop*, 37-38; *Gesta Alberonis*, 246.
[422] *Warrior Bishop*, 37-38; *Gesta Alberonis*, 246.
[423] *Warrior Bishop*, 39; *Gesta Alberonis*, 247 'Alberonem Metensem diabolum'.
[424] *Warrior Bishop*, 40; *Gesta Alberonis*, 247 'Sic mille artibus insidias regis eludere solebat'.

celebrated how his had bishop resisted and evaded royal persecution, outwitting the king, just as Norbert and Conrad had outfaced the king (and upstaged the Pope).

The portrayal of the Investiture Contest, and the attitude of episcopal biographers towards Henry IV and Henry V, reflects the patterns observed in previous sections. Criticisms of the Salians were rarely voiced by bishops, but were instead made by the monks and cathedral canons who composed these works. Such criticism was hardly absent in twelfth-century Germany, but it was not, as in England, regarded as a mark of episcopal authority. Some bishops were certainly praised as defenders of church liberties. They strengthened the resolve of the papacy and were fearless in resisting the practice of royal investiture and, at times, royal influence over episcopal appointments. Albero of Trier was praised for protecting the Church through his ingenuity and wit, qualities equally valued by those chroniclers who demonstrated how their subjects had sought to navigate, rather than oppose, royal persecution. Indeed, there was an equally striking tendency to play down conflict and resistance to kings, with little reservation towards distorting the historical record when doing so. German bishops, as we saw in chapter 2, were especially valued as mediators, attempting to end the conflict between emperor and papacy through their wit, ingenuity, and eloquence. The latter were tools utilised in protection of their dioceses and in pursuit of an end to the chaos, but not as a means to enact the kind of courteous admonition we encountered in England. Some authors failed to mention Henry IV altogether or blamed Gregory VII for the conflict. Authors could be reticent regarding the cause of the conflict. If they did cite a factor at all it was invariably that of royal influence over episcopal appointments or the problem of investiture. We shall now turn to how these authors reacted to the question of royal influence, and the importance they attached to, before offering some conclusions regarding the twelfth-century memory of the Investiture Contest.

Royal influence over elections and investiture

When discussing the dispute, it is worth distinguishing between the issues which provoked comment from episcopal biographers. We have already seen examples, from both *vitae* and *gesta*, attributing the conflict to the specific sin of simony, the buying and selling of ecclesiastical office. Criticism might relate to the king's practice of investing his bishops with the symbols of their office, or the extent of royal influence over appointments more generally. Authors were rarely explicit. After 1122, the Concordat of Worms had left the German kings

with considerable control over episcopal appointments. Ideally, bishops were to be canonically elected, the king having renounced investiture with the ring and staff. After consecration, the ruler would still receive the bishop's homage and oath of fealty in respect of his temporal possessions. Among episcopal biographers, we encounter a range of attitudes. While at least one author felt that even the Concordat had not provided a satisfactory settlement, most were rather comfortable with royal influence, especially in relation to their own diocese.

Indeed, some chroniclers wrote unapologetically of their sees as being clearly in the king's gift. The *History of Eichstätt* included anecdotes that make this vividly clear. When Bishop Megingaud had an argument with a messenger of the bishop of Würzburg, he exclaimed 'you rascal! ... The foolish king did not know what he was doing when he gave a bishopric to such a person'.[425] On another occasion, Bishop Gebhard of Regensburg (r. 1036-1060), Henry III's uncle, demanded that his diocese be granted to his dean Chuno. When the king realised that the dean was the son of a priest, he rejected the election, enraging Gebhard, who viewed this as an insult. Henry responded that he would give the diocese to any other candidate among Gebhard's people. When the bishop proposed a relative, the king initially thought him too young, and hence unsuitable, but Bardo, archbishop of Mainz (r. 1031-1051) predicted that the candidate would one day be pope.[426] While this anecdote cast a favourable light on Henry III's reforming credentials, it made apparent the king's total control of episcopal appointments. Another, less laudatory episode, reveals that a bishop might be imposed to break the diocese's will. When Henry II had founded Bamberg, Bishop Megingaud, 'our warrior of God, steadfastly opposed him by his character and origins, resisting him' until his death. The 'cunning emperor' then gave the diocese to the non-noble Gunzo, even though the diocese had until then been held by 'noble and outstanding men'.[427] The emperor assumed that Gunzo would carry out his wishes, but when he resisted at the advice of his clergy, the emperor exclaimed:

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[425] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 52-53 'Furcifer . . . Fatuus rex quid faceret ignorauit, cum tali talem episcopatum dedit'.
[426] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 61-62.
[427] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 54 'solus agonista noster, tam moribus quam genere fretus, uiriliter sibi restitit, et ad uite usque finem iniquo concambio nullatenus acquiescere voluit. Illo vero feliciter defuncto, Eistetensem episcopatum, ab initio usque tunc a nobilibus et summis viris habitum, ingeniosus imperator tunc demum servili persone addixit et Gunzoni cuidam...'

> 'Gunzo, what do I hear from you? Do you not know that I only made you a bishop to that place, because I could not enforce my will with your predecessor, as being my associate, and so that I could carry out my project without delay and bring it to execution, which you now wish to admonish? Take care that I never hear anything like that from you again, if you want to keep the bishopric and my grace!'[428]

Bishoprics were thus for the king to do with as he wished, and the author of the *History of Eichstätt* in no way objected to that fact.

Other authors were far more enthusiastic. The *Vita Lietberti* described in considerable detail how Lietbert was chosen by Henry III. Having been made aware of the vacancy, the emperor, while observing Lent in Cologne, consulted his magnates on the bishop's replacement.[429] The people of Cambrai suggested Lietbert, a royal chaplain, noting his fidelity to the emperor and how good a friend he had been to that city.[430] The emperor remained silent until Easter Sunday. The author rejoiced that Lietbert then, on the day of Christ's resurrection, 'obtained the royal prerogative of pontifical election by royal and imperial liberality'.[431] The author dwelt on the joy and exultation that followed the ruler's decision and how the church 'applauded the celebrated election of Lord Lietbert, particularly at the prerogative of imperial election'.[432] The *Gesta* of Merseburg and Toul similarly recorded with pride how their predecessors had been appointed by kings.[433]

Other authors took a view, more in line with canonical precedent, that royal influence was acceptable, provided the king's participation had been enlisted by the cathedral chapter. The *Vita Norberti* explained that the electors of Magdeburg were unable to choose between

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[428] *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis*, 55 '"Gunzo, quid hoc audio de te? An ignoras, quia propterea episcopum te loci illius feci, ut, quia voluntatem meam cum priore, utpote socio meo, perficere non poteram, tecum, qui eiusmodi es, sine dilatione perficiam? Caue, ne unquam tale quid audiam ex te, si uel episcopatum uel gratiam meam velis retinere"'.

[429] *Vita Lietberti*, MGH SS 30:2, 847.

[430] *Vita Lietberti*, MGH SS 30:2, 847 'quem fidelissimum sibi et civitati illi sepe necessarium probaverat'.

[431] *Vita Lietberti*, MGH SS 30:2, 847-848. 'O quam gaudiosum, quam conveniens est, ut eo die regali necnon imperiali liberalitate levita magnificus Lietbertus obtineret pontificalis electionis regalem prerogativam, quo rex regum Christus victor rediens ab inferis triumphato diabolo suum liberavit plasma!' The royal decision was met with joy by the messengers of Cambrai, aside from the resistance of Archdeacon Guo. When brought before the emperor, however, Guo admitted he had no justifiable grounds to oppose Lietbert's election

[432] *Vita Lietberti*, MGH SS 30:2, 848. 'Sollempnizabat mater ecclesia coronata Christi resurrectione et victoria, plaudebat domni Lietberti celebri electione, presertim ad prerogativam electionis imperatoriae'.

[433] *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium*, MGH SS 8, 642, 645; Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 261; Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken*, 139-140; *Chronica episcoporum Merseburgensium*,MGH SS 10, 172, 188. The Merseburg *Gesta* celebrated the appointment of Bishop Megingaut (1126-1137), with Lothar's assent, but primarily because the election represented a return to some normality; previous elections had been characterised by splits within the diocese and what mattered to the chronicler was the achievement of unity, rather than the question of royal investiture.

three eminent candidates, hence the decision was taken to Lothar III, who appointed Norbert, in a 'sincere and commendable act', done on the advice of a cardinal, the archbishop of Mainz, and Albero of Metz.[434] Similarly, when Henry IV sought to appoint Otto to the diocese of Bamberg, the first biographer of the bishop claimed that the cathedral chapter, 'impeded by zealous factions and unable to agree', had chosen to place the choice in the king's hands, who then appointed and invested the candidate.[435] The *Vita Meinwerci* likewise described how the clerics of Paderborn had asked for the king's help in appointing a successor. Henry II consulted his bishops and princes, all agreeing with the king that Meinwerk was suitable because of his noble origin and wealth.[436] The role of the clergy received no further mention, even though the *Vita* had earlier emphasised that the the diocese's right to a free election had been conceded by Charlemagne and the pope and confirmed by their successors.[437] Other descriptions are more complex, with the king's role more opaque. The *Vita Bennonis* made clear that Henry appointed Benno to Osnabrück, noting only the reservations of the candidate that he had too much experience of secular, rather than pastoral, service.[438] Rupert of Deutz reported that Otto III greeted news of the election of Archbishop Heribert of Cologne, 'by the clergy, people, and rulers of the land' with thanks because 'they thought and chose exactly what he desired and what seemed best to him'.[439] The election of Arnold of Selenhofen received only a brief notice in the *Vita Arnoldi*, the author noting that the people agreed to Arnold's election with the emperor's support. As Stefan Burkhardt has pointed out, the apologetic description was no doubt designed to justify the overthrow of Archbishop Henry of Mainz (r. 1142-1153), disguising the fact that Arnold had probably only been elected by some of the clergy at the emperor's request.[440] The Cambrai *Gesta* made clear that it was kings who appointed bishops, ideally on the advice of clerics, but with the decision reserved to the ruler in the final instance. The author noted that Otto I had elected Bishop Tetdo, concerned that the previous and rather swift election of Wibald implied that the leading men of Cambrai 'wished to reserve the authority to appoint

[434] *Vita Norberti A*, MGH SS 12, 694 'sincerum et commendabile factum'.
[435] *Noble Society*, 104; 'Vita Ottonis I', 124-127.
[436] *Vita Meinwerci*, 83-85.
[437] *Vita Meinwerci*, 74-75. The author in fact meant Charles III, rather than Charlemagne.
[438] *Vita Bennonis*, 392-395.
[439] *Vita Heriberti*, 40 'tum vero vehementer exhilaratus idem imperator prudenti consilio civitati non minimas grates egit, quia quod ipse optabat quodque sibi optimum videretur, hoc ipsi quoque sentirent et eligerent uno eodemque secum spiritu'.
[440] *Vita Arnoldi*, 60-61, n. 54.

the bishop to their own judgment'.[441] The Magdeburg *Gesta* also highlighted how kings had often picked candidates who were not the choice of the cathedral chapter.[442] Those bishops who had been appointed without such local support in this regard were rarely censured by the chronicler for that fact. The author did complain when Henry IV imposed archbishop Werner (r. 1063-1078) on the diocese, but primarily because of the destruction that ocurred during his pontificate. The author explained:

> 'Although we do not presume to criticise this, which has been done by God's permission and the authority of such great men, yet grieving for the damage which has been done to our Church by this man, both as regards violation of the free choice of the brethren and as regards external benefits, we warn that this should be avoided in future'.[443]

Henry had deemed Werner to be a milder, and less violent, choice than the cathedral provost Frederick, elected by the community.[444] When Werner died, the cathedral chapter chose Günter, but the anti-king, Rudolf of Rheinfelden, installed Hartwig (r. 1079-1102) instead.[445] The author of the *Gesta* concealed the earlier election: the manner of Hartwig's appointment was not seen as worth mentioning. The *Gesta Alberonis* also described the troubled process of Albero of Trier's election, during which Lothar III had reneged on an earlier promise to support the elected candidate.[446] The Metz *Gesta* recorded that the cathedral chapter elected Poppo, 'putting aside their fear of the emperor', but that the 'imperial power strove to introduce another', imposing Bruno, Walo, and Adalbero, in succession, on the diocese.[447]

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[441] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 93; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 438; The *Gesta* also described how the emperor elected Rothard because of his nobility and piety, but did so with the consent and acclamation of the Lotharingians and at the request of Bishop Notker of Liège, believing that his gentleness of character would suppress the savagery of the people of Cambrai. *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*, i, c. 102, 100-101; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 443. See also *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai,* 193; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium,* MGH SS 7, 470 for the election for an archbishop of Cologne in the emperor's presence.

[442] See Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken*, 113-114 who provides the following examples: *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 385, 392, 397, 398, 399, 400, 407, 411, 412, 415.

[443] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 400 'Quod factum Dei permissione et tantorum virorum auctoritate licet non presumamus reprehendere, tamen dolentes pro detrimento per hunc illato nostre ecclesie, tam in violata libera fratrum electione quam et exteriori utilitate, id caveri monemus futuro tempore'.

[444] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 117.*Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 400.

[445] Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken,* 117-118; *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium,* MGH SS 14, 403-404.

[446] *Warrior Bishop*, 45-46; *Gesta Alberonis,* 248-249 The *Gesta* included a letter which explained that the clerics had been assured of Lothar III's favour in advance. When they arrived in Mainz, however, he was swayed by laymen to forget his earlier promise.

[447] *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium* MGH SS 10, 543. 'Potestas imperialis alium subinducere nitens, Mettenses fide firma restiterunt; et sicut pridem duos Brunonem ac Gualonem intrusos expulerunt, sic et tercium Adelberonem non sine multo labore ac periculo suarum rerum excommunicatum deposuerunt'.

While chroniclers valued a canonical election, especially if unanimous, and complained when bishops were imposed upon them, but their more general ambivalence towards the question of royal appointments and investiture is more striking. The authors of the *vitae* and *gesta* certainly did not provide any forthright condemnations of royal influence over the election of their own prelates, whether in relation to the present or the distant past.

The *Vita Chuonradi* described the process for electing a bishop in considerable detail. The latter should be 'elected by those in the palace... and confirmed immediately by the emperor in the grant of the episcopate'.[448] However, by contrast to the positive or ambivalent accounts above, the author claimed that one aspect of the prelate's election 'subsequently gave in him [Conrad] birth to perpetual sorrow of heart'.[449] The bishop

> 'abhorred and to the marrow of his bones detested the giving of homage and an oath... because he considered it criminal, and almost sacrilege, and spoke out in private and in public that, as he himself used to say, hands consecrated by holy oil should not be subject to hands covered in blood and polluted by the giving of homage.'[450]

Consequently, he never swore an oath of loyalty nor offered homage to Lothar III.[451] When Conrad III became king, the duke of Zähringen insisted that the archbishop perform the latter. Bishop Conrad

> 'fearlessly replied "I see, my lord duke, that if you were a cart, you would not hesitate to go in advance of the oxen; for, between me and our lord the king, the matter will be decided so that you may feel that you have no care in this matter".[452]

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[448] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 65 'Iuxta hanc formam etiam his de quo sermo agitur in palatio electus est, et ab imperatore continuo concessione episcopatus confirmatus'.
[449] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 65 'Ea res postea dolorem cordis perpetuum ei peperit'.
[450] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 65-66 'Abhorrebat siquidem vir ille venerabilis, et medullitus detestabatur hominii et iuramenti prestationem, quam regibus exhibebant episcopi et abbates vel quisquam ex clero pro ecclesiasticis dignitatibus, eo quod nefas et instar sacrilegii reputaret ac predicaret occulte et publice, manus chrismatis unctione consecratas sanguineis manibus, et ipse solebat dicere, subici et hominii exhibitione pollui'.
[451] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 66.
[452] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 66 'intrepide respondit: "Video, domine dux, quia si plaustrum essetis, boves precurrere non dubitaretis; inter me enim et dominum nostrum regem sic causa determinabitur, ut nullam vestri in hac causa curam haberi sentiatis"'.

The king intervened, 'lest the archbishop, moved by anger, should burst forth once more in a bitter word and should disturb the entire business' and 'pressed the duke's mouth with the back of his hand and prevented him from any reply'.[453] The king insisted that he wanted nothing from Conrad except his goodwill. While Conrad's election, and the issue of either royal influence or investiture had caused few difficulties, the customary oath and homage to the king was bitterly resented and provided further opportunity for his biographer to celebrate the fearlessness of his archbishop.

The continuation of the *Gesta Trevorum*, written around 1132, is notable for taking greater interest in the question of royal influence over episcopal appointments. Regina Pörtner and Goetz have argued that the work was sharply critical of Henry IV's simony and of royal investiture.[454] Pörtner suggested that the chronicler presented past elections from the perspective of the date of composition, by which point the diocese had been engulfed by divisions between rival candidates for four years.[455] The author believed that the Investiture Contest had broken out after Gregory VII reintroduced an old decree which condemned priests co-habiting with women and those who had acquired their offices through simony. This caused the 'greatest enmities' between king and pope:

> 'for at that time when no bishops or ecclesiastical dignities were appointed, no one kept to the order of canonical provisions. Rather he who filled the king or prince's hand sufficiently, or did him any other service as he pleased, was led, by royal ferocity, to whatever he wished.'[456]

The actual course of the Investiture Contest was thus reshaped to focus on the issue of simony, regarded by the chronicler as the primary cause of the conflict.[457] Indeed, the *Gesta* referred to the wider dispute only because it pertained to the election of Egilbert (r. 1049-1101).[458] Candidate after candidate had been presented to the king, but Henry rejected them

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[453] *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, MGH SS 11, 66 'Unde rex, ne archiepiscopus indignatione motus in verbum asperum amplius erumperet et negotium omne turbaret, aversa manu os ducis compressit, et ab omni responsione compescuit, dicens, se ab archiepiscopo nichil prorsus expetere, nisi bonam voluntatem ipsius'.
[454] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 261, 268.
[455] Pörtner, 'Reichspolitik', 83-112.
[456] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 268-269. *Gesta Treverorum*, MGH SS 8, 183 'Nullus enim tunc in subrogandis pontificibus vel aliis ecclesiasticis dignitatibus canonicae sanctionis ordo servabatur, sed qui tantum regis vel principis manum implesset seu alius qualecumque obsequium sibi placitum inpendisset, regia praeficiebatur violentia ubi voluisset'.
[457] Pörtner, 'Reichspolitik', 95-98; *Gesta Treverorum*, MGH SS 8, 183.
[458] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 269-270; *Gesta Treverorum*, MGH SS 8, 184.

all: 'none of them had deserved his kindness by a proper estimate of his worth'.[459] In the end, Egilbert was elected because of his royal service, and invested by Henry, despite the objections of the people and of bishops in neighbouring dioceses.[460]

The chronicler clearly valued a unanimous canonical election, though doubts might be raised as to how far this equated to a desire to restrict royal influence or lay investiture, as has been suggested.[461] Certainly, the *Gesta* lamented the turmoil that followed the imposition of Conrad by Anno of Cologne and the young Henry IV, which ultimately led to the archbishop's murder.[462] The author claimed that, in his fury, the king had wished to destroy Trier, but that wiser counsels had eventually prevailed.[463] The people and clergy then chose Udo of Nellenburg in an apparent return to canonical norm. However, the chronicler ignored the fact that Udo was related to the king and was also accused of simony.[464] With Eberhard's election (r. 1047-1066), the voters paid respect to the king's views,[465] and the chronicler noted with pride that Bruno of Trier was a royal advisor:[466]

> 'In fact, that I may briefly conclude, he presented himself in every way in such a manner that even in the exercise of imperial affairs among all the princes none stood higher than him in counsel, wisdom, and authority, and the emperor even called him father, and paid him a higher honour than to the others. But even among all the bishops, whenever they were gathered, though loved as an equal, he was revered as the greater man.'[467]

After Bruno's death in 1124, a mission from Trier requested a new candidate from Henry V, who appointed Gottfried, a cleric who had received offices from the king after spending time at the royal court. His appointment was opposed by nobles within the diocese who claimed

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[459] *Gesta Treverorum,* MGH SS 8, 184 'et clerus unum post unum ex ipso eorum collegio, hoc utique honore dignissimos, exhiberent, rex autem, quotquot nominassent, nullum eorum sibi placere dixisset - nullus enim eorum benivolentiam eius digna taxatione praevenerat'.
[460] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 270; *Gesta Treverorum,* MGH SS 8, 184-185.
[461] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 272; Pörtner, 'Reichspolitik', 99-100, 112.
[462] Pörtner, 'Reichspolitik', 92-93.
[463] *Gesta Treverorum,* MGH SS 8, 182-183.
[464] Pörtner, 'Reichspolitik', 94.
[465] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 270. *Gesta Treverorum,* MGH SS 8, 181.
[466] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 271.
[467] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung,* 271 *Gesta Treverorum,* MGH SS 8, 193 'Verum, ut breviter concludam, talem se omnimodis exhibebat, ut in administrandis quoque regni negociis ex omnibus principibus consilio et sapientia et auctoritate nullus eo sublimior haberetur, adeo ut imperator patrem suum eum vocaverit et maiorem ceteris ei honorem inpenderit. Sed el ab omnibus episcopis, quacumque se conventul eorum ingessisset, ut par quidem diligebatur, sed ut maior venerabatur'.

that Gottfried owed his position to royal favour, rather than a canonical election.[468] The *Gesta* complained that the candidate 'could not hope to change his godless life and to obtain a church office in an honourable way' but had known that 'if any of the princes of the Church should die, he would be foisted in, if not canonically, at least by royal authority'.[469] Henry IV had already appointed him archdeacon, informing Archbishop Egilbert (r. 1079-1101) that any refusal would be considered an insult. The author complained that Gottfried never obtained an office without making a gift. He had reportedly 1300 marks of silver to Henry V in order to obtain the archiepiscopal office.[470] The *Gesta*'s continuator despised certain candidates who, it claimed, had obtained their office through simony (though conveniently ignored the accusations made of Udo). The chronicler certainly valued the ideal of canonical election alongside respect for Trier's rights, customs, and independence: an archbishop of Trier should not be appointed against the will of the cathedral chapter. It is questionable though that the *Gesta* reveals an objection to royal investiture as such, as opposed to bad candidates, imposed by a ruler ignoring objections regarding the candidate's suitability.[471] Although Pörtner claimed that the author perceived investiture as an unlawful innovation, in practice the *Gesta* was more concerned with the question of simony, defined to include both gifts and service, rather than the specific act investiture or the broader issue of royal influence.[472] Candidates close to the king, who had served him at court, were permissible if they had the chapter's approval.

Many *vitae* and *gesta* rather hazily described royal control of episcopal appointments and, less often, simony, as the fundamental cause of the conflict between emperor and papacy. Yet on the broader question of royal influence over episcopal elections, and the specific act of royal investiture, they appear to have been more ambivalent, especially in relation to their own diocese or bishop. Some celebrated and applauded the fact that their bishops had been appointed by kings. Certainly, there appears to have been no attempt to rewrite diocesan histories to disguise royal influence. At times, the authors of the *vitae* did emphasise that the king's participation was conditional on the chapter's invitation, or that his choice conveniently aligned with their own. Others simply had bishops imposed upon them.

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[468] Pörtner, 'Reichspolitik', 88.
[469] *Gesta Treverorum,* MGH SS 8. 200 'quia de morum eius irreligiositate regulariter non speraret ullum ecclsiasticum honorem contingere, si facultas subpeteret, videlicet si ecclesiarcharum quisquam vita decederet, si nequiret canonice, regia saltem intruderetur potestate'.
[470] *Gesta Treverorum,* MGH SS 8, 200-201
[471] Pörtner, 'Reichspolitik', 93-94 admitted that the author did not give a direct view of investiture, but argued he nonetheless wished to restrict royal influence.
[472] Pörtner, 'Reichspolitik', 99.

Even writers who stressed the importance of canonical suffrage, rarely censured bishops on the manner of their appointment alone. They might well ignore the issue completely when deemed convenient. Homage and the performance of an oath to the king, though permissible under the Concordat of Worms, were regarded as acts to be resisted by Conrad of Salzburg, but his *vita* provides the sole example. The continuation of the *Gesta Trevororum*, while critical of simony, neither gave a direct opinion on royal investiture nor opposed candidates just because they had been close to the king. In short, while many authors recognised that the Investiture Contest had been brought about by a fundamental division between emperor and pope over the issue of episcopal appointments, their own attitude towards the question of royal influence was rather more varied. The implications of the dispute was rarely related back to the appointments of their own bishops nor did they rewrite the past in light of such concerns.

Remembering the Investiture Contest

For all the debate regarding the nature of the events at Canossa, notably between Johannes Fried and Stefan Weinfurter, the wider impact of the Investiture Conflict remains unquestioned. Modern historiography has often centred on the clash between papacy and monarchy by taking Canossa as a symbol. Augustin Fliche's classic narrative fashioned the encounter as the centrepiece of a wider conflict over episcopal appointments and lay investiture. Despite considerable differences in approach and interpretation, Gerd Tellenbach regarded the conflict as one primarily concerned with investiture, a consequence of a fundamental clash of world views.[473] A dramatic and transformative change continues to be attributed to the conflict.[474] According to Jehangir Malegam, the dispute sundered clerical and secular rulership and laid the foundations for future distinctions between Church and State. Christians now had to make 'a mortal choice between the now-competing demands (political as well as spiritual) of royal and priestly theocracy'.[475] Blumenthal claimed that, thanks to Gregory's actions in 1077, 'theocratic kingship became an anachronism'.[476] By accepting the pope's sentence, the events at Canossa had 'turned the ancient concept of the

[473] Maureen Miller, 'The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis Narrative', *History Compass* 7 (2009), 1570-1580, at 1571.
[474] For a detailed summary of the German-language scholarship and reservations regarding the importance of Canossa see Körntgen, 'Der Investiturstreit und das Verhältnis von Religion und Politik im Frühmittelalter', 89-115; Conrad Leyser, 'Church Reform – Full of Sound and Fury, Signifying Nothing?', *Early Medieval Europe* 24 (2016), 478-499.
[475] Jehangir Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth*, 79-80; Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State, and Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett (Oxford, 1940).
[476] Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 118, 124.

duality of church and monarchy upside down, introduced profound changes, and destroyed forever the medieval ideal of the one Christian *res publica*. . . The monarchy was thus deprived of its sacrality, with which it had entered a seemingly indissoluble bond in the Carolingian period'.[477] Canossa is still evoked, even if now more frequently as a cipher for more fundamental and structural change. Kathleen Cushing, for instance, suggested that the event 'merely hastened what was always perhaps an inevitable outcome of reform: the irrevocable separation of the secular and divine', leading to 'perhaps inevitably, the wholesale reinvention of Latin European society'.[478] As Maureen Miller noted, the encounter at Canossa remains the 'dramatic linchpin' and 'irresistible emblem' of the wider conflict, rightly named by Malegam as perhaps 'the most famous incident of the Investiture Contest'.[479] At the same time, recent scholarship has undermined the traditional connection between investiture, Canossa, and the wider conflict. In response to Rudolf Schieffer's work, investiture is no longer regarded as the *initial* cause of the conflict, but as an issue that gathered importance at a later date.[480] With respect to Canossa, as Maureen Miller put it, 'the emblematic event of the investiture crisis was not about investiture'.[481] In summary, while investiture is no longer regarded as a primary cause of the dispute, a great deal of importance is still attached to the fundamental change symbolised by the conflict and by Canossa, especially with regard to the supposed desacralisation of kingship.

In some respects, the image of the Investiture Contest presented by the German *vitae* and *gesta* in fact suggests the polar opposite. If authors did pick out a single cause of the dispute, whatever they thought of their own dioceses, they did look to investiture, simony, and royal control of ecclesiastical appointments. Without questioning the immediacy of the conflict raging around them, biographers and chroniclers felt at times able to ignore it or to disguise and modify the involvement of their bishops. It is highly debatable that they recognised any fundamental clash between royal and papal power. They felt they were living

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[477] Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 124; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998), 165–167, however, argued that a matured Henry tried to reinvent his sacral character after Canossa.
[478] Kathleen Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005), 128-130, at 161. On investiture see 106, 128-130. According to Cushing, the compromise left secular rulers with considerable influence over episcopal appointments, but the pope could be satisfied that perception of ruler conferring divine office had been 'thoroughly eradicated'.
[479] Miller, 'The Crisis', 1570; Malegam, *Sleep of Behemoth*, 119-120.
[480] Miller, 'The Crisis', 1572 who cited Rudolf Schieffer, *Die Entstehung des päpstlichen Investiturverbots für den deutschen Konig* (Stuttgart, 1981), 48-84, 114-128, 204-207; Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 121; Tellenbach, *Church in Western Europe*, 1993), 177. For further bibliography on investiture and Canossa see Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 127-134.
[481] See Miller, 'The Crisis', 1572.

through a 'struggle for the right order' of the diocese, rather than that of the world. While their criticism of the Salians is notable, it is doubtful that it constituted evidence for 'desacralisation'. Modern historians have continued to attach considerable importance to Henry IV's excommunication, but it is worth pointing out how little the matter was discussed by our authors. Finally, and most strikingly, not a single one of the *vitae* or *gesta* reviewed here, produced in twelfth-century religious communities across Germany, once mentioned the events at Canossa.

In fact, the glaring mistakes these writers made when recounting the course of the Investiture Contest calls into question how well these events were remembered, and the importance contemporaries attached to them. The accompanying conflict between Henry IV and Henry V was passed over completely by the Trier *Gesta.* Archbishop Bruno supported the king until his death, then immediately became an advisor for Henry V, characterised as a child in need of a tutor, despite being in his twenties when he came to the throne.[482] The ease with which fundamental details were ignored, rewritten, or forgotten is striking. For all the importance Norbert of Iburg attached to Benno's actions during Gregory VII's deposition at Brixen, he thought it had taken place at Pavia.[483] The Trier *Gesta* carelessly summarised the Investiture Contest, claiming that Henry IV had been excommunicated for his simoniac crimes before deposing the pope and installing Wipert of Ravenna in Rome. In turn, Henry was then expelled from the city on Gregory's return. In reality, Gregory's deposition preceded Henry's excommunication and the pope never returned to Rome, but died in exile. The dispute was only discussed, briefly and incorrectly, presumably because it only mattered to the author as context for the disputed election at Trier itself.

The *Gesta Alberonis* also used the Investiture Contest as a background for Albero's exploits. Explaining the dispite, Balderich noted, would show to readers 'completely and clearly why, how, in what way, and to what purpose' the hero had defended the Church from the emperor.[484] Balderich therefore summarised the conflict to explain how they events had reached a stage where 'thus we have the emperor versus the churches, the churches versus the emperor'.[485] Balderich claimed, however, that kingdom and Church had been divided by

[482] *Gesta Treverorum,* MGH SS 8, 193.
[483] *Vita Bennonis*, 410-411. Norbert refers to Ticinum, meaning Pavia, when the synod took place at Brixen.
[484] *Warrior Bishop*, 28; *Gesta Alberonis,* 243 'Ut autem plenius atque planius intelligas, quae et qualia et qualiter et ad quid homo iste perfecerit in defensione aecclesiae contra imperatoris iniuriam, predicendum michi videtur, quae et qualis fuerit causa huius scismatis'.
[485] *Warrior Bishop*, 35; *Gesta Alberonis,* 245 'Hinc imperator contra aecclesias, hinc aecclesiae contra imperatorem'.

schism during the reign of Henry III.[486] From the time of Charlemagne, the *Gesta* pointed out, kings had invested bishops, a right conceded to them by popes because of the merits of such rulers and on account of their generosity towards, and defence of, the Church itself.[487] Henry III, in Balderich's view, despite his good works, was infamous for selling bishoprics. When Gregory tried to deprive him of investiture, the emperor, Balderich thought, had actually agreed to the pope's demand, promising to expel any who had purchased their positions and to never to grant a bishopric for money again. When the emperor tried to carry this out, however, he incurred such hatred from his bishops that they, now allied (somewhat confusingly for the modern reader) with the pope, excommunicated Henry. The parties were thus re-arranged: joint royal-papal action against simony had been blocked by the German episcopate, before Henry III was himself excommunicated by a subsequent papal-episcopal alliance. Only after this unfortunate series of events did Henry IV inherit both the conflict and his father's habit of oppressing the episcopate.[488]

By far the most surprising interpretation of the crisis comes from the *Life* of Adalbero of Würzburg (r. 1045-1090). This biography, written at the end of the twelfth century, gave a rather different version of events. Henry V persuaded his father's confidants to join him in rebellion, before persecuting and humiliating the king, forgetting the reverence due to a father.[489] Having evoked biblical passages to remind the audience of the fate of sons who betrayed their fathers, the *Vita* then claimed that the Pope intervened, in defence of Henry IV, to excommunicate the rebels.[490] The crisis in the Empire was thus attributed to the diabolic inspiration behind these events as well as to Henry V's ambition. The language of the *Vita* reflected the author's exceptional sympathy towards the old king: 'the imperial majesty and dignity were taken away... without reverence for the grey hair of his age', with the author most outraged by the younger Henry's cruelty.[491] The Pope, in this account, was shocked at

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[486] *Warrior Bishop*, 27-28; *Gesta Alberonis*, 243.
[487] *Warrior Bishop*, 28; *Gesta Alberonis*, 243.
[488] Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 261-2; *Warrior Bishop*, 28-35; *Gesta Alberonis*, 243-246. Pope Paschal II then wished to complete Gregory VII's work and refused to anoint Henry V as emperor unless he renounced investiture. Balderich inserted a letter sent by Henry to the entire kingdom, then described the conflict between Henry's army and the citizens of Rome. After the pope and cardinals are imprisoned at Viterbo, the emperor shows the pope a painting showing Jacob wresting with an angel and informs the pope he would similarly not escape without his blessing.
[489] Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 346; *Vita Adalberonis episcopi Wirziburgensis*, written 1197-1204, MGH SS 12, 127-147, 132.
[490] *Vita Adalberonis episcopi Wirziburgensis*, 132.
[491] *Vita Adalberonis episcopi Wirziburgensis*, 132 'Sic imperator imperatoria maiestate et dignitate privatur; sic filius patrem armis et universis agminibus, non reveritus canos multi temporis, depilavit. Quid plura? Expulit illatis patrem crudeliter armis'. The last sentence here, a hexameter verse, appears to be a quotation from Gottschalk of Orbais's *Ecloga* (line 47), an identification I owe to Robert Ireland.

how the latter's crime 'could stain and confound not only the Roman Empire, but also the whole Christian world'.[492] Adalbero was forced to flee, not because of Henry IV's persecution, but because of the rebellion and chaos inflicted on the realm by his son.[493] Of course, this account bears no relation whatsoever to Adalbero's actual career. By the time of Henry V's rebellion, the bishop had indeed been dead for 14 years. By the late twelfth century, the author was either profoundly ignorant of the true course of events, or he considered the rebellion of royal sons against their fathers to be a crime more worthy of censure and attention than any clash between royal and papal authority. Both possibilities demonstrate the extent to which the Investiture Contest enjoyed a more variable and contested place in the historical memory of the twelfth century than has hitherto been appreciated.[494]

Conclusion

According to modern scholarship, the image of kingship in these texts can be summarised as follows: episcopal *vitae* and *gesta*, influenced by the Investiture Contest and related developments in the Empire, were increasingly critical of a now desacralised monarchy and royal court. They made royal service conditional on benefits for the diocese, and generally adopted a more local focus in a political culture in which the king had become less relevant. The patterns that have emerged from our analysis challenge this picture in several respects. Equally, a set of contrasts in relation to the English sources have also become evident. First, whereas English prelates were praised for resisting kings and royal government and for their correction of the moral and sexual failings of the ruler, German authors tended to downplay resistance, criticism, and conflict even where it had occurred. When Henry IV and Henry V were censured, the comments came from the authors of the

[492] *Vita Adalberonis episcopi Wirziburgensis,* 132 'qui tunc Romani culminis pontificium tenuit, audito nefando scismate et scelere, quod posset non solum Romanum imperium, sed etiam totum maculare disturbareque orbem christianum...'.
[493] *Vita Adalberonis episcopi Wirziburgensis,* 132 'nefas existimantes regiae, immo iniquae subdi clientelae, au fugam iniere aut diversis se iniuriis sponte obtulere aut in speluncis et exiguis silvarum uniti tuguriis more bestiarum delituere, ut aliquando beatus Blasius et sanctus Silvester fecere'. The *Vita* compared the bishop to the saints Silvester and Blaise who, like Adalbero, had been forced by persecution to flee to 'caves and small forest huts'.
[494] For a case-study exploring historical memory in twelfth-century Germany, and discussion of this theme more generally, see Björn Weiler, 'Tales of Trickery and Deceit: the Election of Frederick Barbarossa (1152), Historical Memory and the Culture of Kingship in later Staufen Germany', *Journal of Medieval History* 38 (2012), 295-317.

gesta and *vitae* themselves. They were not attributed to bishops or regarded as an episcopal duty. Even heavenly admonitions, from God or St Peter, were downplayed by twelfth-century authors or had aimed to prevent conflict in the first place. Second, the royal court in the Empire enjoyed nothing like the political or moral importance attributed to it in England. There is little sense of a Carolingian *ministerium,* of episcopal responsibility for the spiritual and moral purity of the king, his court, and, through them, the realm. In these sources, the kingdom's prosperity was never connected to the moral purity of that court or the king. This connection, of such fundamental importance in many of the English *vitae*, is simply absent.

If the relationship between bishops and kings in Germany appears less intense in this light, it would also be wrong to conclude that royal authority had somehow become irrelevant. On the contrary, throughout these texts royal connections were imagined, stressed, and embellished. If we pursue Timothy Reuter's analogy of kingship as 'a social construct, the result of political market forces', then royal authority was certainly in demand and of interest to these authors.[495] They went out of their way to assess rulers and to incorporate royal history into their narratives. The deeds of kings were judged as interesting and relevant to their audiences. The royal connection particularly mattered when recording the distant past. The reigns of Charlemagne and Otto the Great, like that of King Edgar in England, were regarded as a golden age, one to which our German authors traced the foundation of their own communities. The *vitae*, focusing on individual prelates and saints, similarly valued a connection with the Carolingian and Frankish kings. But there was also an important difference here between the two realms. Where German authors stressed the participation of their bishops in royal and imperial history, they did not portray any partnership between royal and episcopal authority akin to that of Dunstan and Edgar. There was no figure in the past, similar to Anglo-Saxon archbishop, to whom they attributed oversight of royal and national morality. While authors in both realms looked for royal connections in the past, the conclusions they drew proved rather different.

Although some authors made clear that royal favour and service were primarily routes to privileges and properties, it would be wrong to reduce descriptions of either to just this motivation. Serving the king marked one out among the princes of the Empire. It gained a

[495] Timothy Reuter, 'The Medieval German Sonderweg? The Empire and its Rulers in the high Middle Ages', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities,* ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 388-412, at 407.

bishop praise, regardless of his other faults, and was rarely seen as in contradiction to spiritual or pastoral pursuits. The numerous and lengthy descriptions of royal companionship and favour might even seem surprising in a period described as witnessing the desacralisation of kingship, the rise of prince bishoprics, and the breakdown of royal-episcopal co-operation. Even by the end of the twelfth century, episcopal biographers still stressed the importance of royal service, the prestige of royal friendship, joyfully recording unsolicited acts of royal generosity. Royal favour was valued, not because it allowed one, as in England, to dominate a political or moral centre, but because it was useful, both in the diocese and abroad, even where the direct impact of royal authority otherwise proved rather fleeting. Kings thus mattered to these authors in different ways to England. They did not matter less.

Finally, the Investiture Contest has been regarded as bringing about a fundamental change in how bishops and kings related to one another in twelfth-century Germany and, hence, how they were portrayed by their biographers. Both parties, in these interpretations, suffered a desacralisation that undermined the foundations of their previous co-operation. If we turn to how twelfth-century religious communities responded to the crisis, however, the complexity and ambiguity of their reaction is more noticeable. Some bishops were stylised as heroes and martyrs, who defended the liberty of the Church, and faced down royal persecution, whether by dramatic interventions that shamed both emperor and pope, or by their ingenuity, wit, and even capacity for costume changes. Henry IV received at times a more mixed, even sympathetic, reception from these writers than may have been anticipated, especially when compared to the severe criticisms levelled at his perfidious son. Bishops were above all praised for mediating between the two sides in the conflict, rather than for confronting royal power directly. In some cases, authors went out of their way to disguise examples of resistance, presumably fearful of encouraging similar behaviour in the future. Some wished to avoid discussing the conflict at all, preferred not to name the king directly, or stressed instead how episcopal eloquence had helped their diocese navigate the chaos that engulfed the wider kingdom. The Investiture Contest, far from being a great struggle for the right order of the world, could be seen as yet another fruitful opportunity to gain a long-desired privilege. Support for the papacy too did not have to translate into criticisms of kings. While many authors attributed the conflict to royal influence over episcopal elections, their attitude towards their own dioceses was rather mixed. The king's role could be enthusiastically embraced, tacitly ignored, or selectively criticised. Simony was easy to condemn, but episcopal biographers and chroniclers rarely took so clear a position against

investiture itself or royal influence in general. The ease with which the main events of the Investiture Contest were misremembered, forgotten, or reinterpreted, cautions against the transformative impact attributed to the crisis, at least with regard to the mentality of these religious communities. Having established the contrasts between England and Germany in their portrayal of royal and episcopal behaviour, we can now conclude and suggest how these may have related to more structural differences in the respective political cultures of the two realms.

Conclusion

This study has identified a set of important differences in the representation of kingship in twelfth-century England and Germany. Both realms inherited a common set of ideas regarding the proper exercise of royal and episcopal authority, but how they were interpreted could differ considerably. We have seen that a biblical, classical, and patristic legacy, shared across high medieval Christendom, was open to considerable modification and adaptation. In particular, the importance of episcopal oversight had been stressed long before the clarion calls of the papal reform movement. Augustine of Hippo and Ambrose of Milan had made clear that kings, like any other lay member of the Church, required correction. In doing so, they built upon a classical tradition that had emphasised the importance of restrained and courteous criticism of the powerful, one that sat alongside the fiercer examples provided in the Old Testament. Although Gregory the Great had drawn on the latter, he too preached caution to those who would censure the Lord's Anointed. This duty to correct quickly became central to the very definition of royal and episcopal authority. In addition, both the Bible and classical authors had stressed the connection between royal behaviour and the moral and political health of the wider polity, one which found its most popular and vivid expression in Pseudo-Cyprian's *Twelve Abuses of the World.* The extent to which that relationship was invoked, and related to episcopal oversight, provides the most striking contrast revealed by this thesis in the representation of kingship in twelfth-century England and Germany.

In this regard, the portrayal of kings put forth by the English episcopal *vitae* bears striking similarities to characteristics of political culture more often associated with the Carolingians: an emphasis on episcopal *admonitio,* the royal court as the realm's moral centre, and the importance of both to the fate of the kingdom. Like their Carolingian forbears, bishops in twelfth-century England stressed their duty to criticise the personal misconduct of their king while framing their admonition in terms of humility, pastoral care, and loyalty to the ruler, to truth, and to God. Episcopal oversight aimed not to oppose royal authority, but to ensure its correct exercise.

The Anglo-Saxon *vitae* provide an early indication of the importance of these features in terms of how royal and episcopal authority was discussed in England. Like Charlemagne, Edgar was portrayed as the patron of monastic reform and the guardian of correct worship, by contrast with his twelfth-century successors. Anglo-Saxon authors are notable, however, for

the attention they paid to the moral purity of the royal court as well as to the episcopal responsibility to correct kings. They also provide an early illustration that the correction of kings, even of tyrants such as Eadwig, was undertaken with caution and restraint, when compared to the divine wrath unleashed upon royal concubines or courtiers. The bishops portrayed by the late Anglo-Saxon *vitae* made clear their concern for the example set by the king for his people as a whole. The prominence attached to episcopal counsel had deeper roots, however, reflecting the image of royal and episcopal behaviour promulgated by Bede and the tenth-century reform movement. Late Anglo-Saxon observers went beyond Carolingian precedents in the attention they paid to episcopal support as the bedrock of both king and kingdom. Before the twelfth century, a marked contrast had therefore already emerged with the image of episcopal behaviour put forth by contemporary authors in Germany. Criticism of the Ottonian and Salian kings was certainly not absent from episcopal *vitae* but, by contrast with late Anglo-Saxon England, it was not regarded as an episcopal prerogative nor bound up with concern for the royal court's moral integrity.

Our examination of the military assistance rendered by English and German bishops to their respective kings, revealed several, at times surprising, differences between how that theme was approached by episcopal biographers in the two realms. The German *vitae* tended to stress that episcopal participation in royal campaigns was praiseworthy only if pursued in line with a set of higher norms, such as protecting the vulnerable, securing a just peace or minimising loss of life, rather than achieving a royal victory alone. The bishop's presence might reflect well on his standing in the wider Empire while his admonition of the king could ensure conflicts were resolved without bloodshed. The characterisation of the English episcopate, although it included a similar concern for peace, was otherwise rather different. English bishops were more likely to encourage, rather than restrain, royal aggression. In contrast to the bellicose image of the German episcopate that dominates modern scholarship, even a figure like Albero of Trier was, in fact, more interested in preventing conflict than his English colleagues. In general, German episcopal biographers provide a more negative image of royal service, complaining of its demands, downplaying the participation of the bishop, or highlighting his principled refusal to serve. Some English authors downplayed their bishop's involvement in military affairs, but when others did discuss royal service, they did so with far greater enthusiasm. An association with the king's cause was a matter for praise, even when the ruler was not present on the battlefield. In addition, the merits and prayers of English bishops were thought to bring about miraculous royal successes on the battlefield in a way

that finds little parallel in Germany. Whether in the Anglo-Saxon past, or even in the more recent campaigns undertaken by the Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings abroad, episcopal backing was judged as essential to royal success.

When we turn to the English *vitae* more generally, the importance attributed to episcopal counsel only becomes more apparent. Episcopal biographers made clear that the prosperity of the English kingdom depended upon a partnership between king and bishop. Correcting the king was thus not only an obligation, but an act which underpinned the prosperity of the realm. That admonition could certainly be forceful, but was more often carried out with restraint, courtesy, and even humour, more reminiscent of the advice offered by Gregory the Great and Cicero than the admonition of Samuel or Nathan. While the duty to correct the king emerges with particular force in relation to the archbishops of Canterbury, the obligation was shared by the episcopate as a whole. Indeed, one of the earliest accounts we have of episcopal admonition of an Anglo-Saxon king concerns the bishop of Worcester, while the attention paid to such activities in Adam of Eynsham's *Life* of Hugh of Lincoln dwarves that found in the *vitae* of Dunstan and even Becket. The importance attached to admonition was reflected in the characterisation of the opposition faced by those who would correct royal sin. False bishops, seductive queens, and malicious courtiers represented the inversion of episcopal *admonitio*, encouraging, rather than correcting, royal sin, and obscuring the truth, not speaking it to power. The prominence of the royal court in the realm's political culture was reflected in the attention paid to its moral purity. The benefits of episcopal counsel were, furthermore, judged to have spread from the king to his people, while the ruler's dependency on his episcopate was underlined wherever possible. When oversight failed, resisting improper royal demands was a further mark of a true bishop. Those who obeyed kings without question had not only neglected their own communities, but had disregarded the essence of what it meant to be a bishop in the first place. English kings then, were represented in the *vitae* as utterly dependent on episcopal counsel: neither ruler nor kingdom would survive long without it.

Whereas English prelates were praised for their correction, oversight, and, *in extremis*, resistance to kings, German biographers played down such behaviour, even when they knew it had occurred. Criticisms of royal conduct were certainly not absent in the Ottonian and early Salian *vitae*, but were delivered by the biographers themselves, rather than attributed to the episcopate. The authors of the *vitae* even felt able to moderate the admonitions of St Peter, and God himself, when they adapted their earlier sources. The

German royal court, in turn, received little attention in its own right. Unlike in England, there was no sense of an episcopal obligation to oversee the moral integrity of the king or his court, nor an awareness that either were connected to the prosperity and survival of the realm. That did not mean that royal authority, or association with it, had become any less important. Contrary to what the earlier scholarship has sometimes suggested, even by the end of the twelfth century the *vitae* and *gesta* still stressed the importance of royal service and joyfully recorded examples of royal favour. But the latter was valued not because, as in England, they allowed the bishop to dominate a political or moral arena, but because it proved useful elsewhere in areas where the impact of royal authority was otherwise rather fleeting. These differences also emerge when these religious communities turned to the idealised kings of the past. In Germany, a connection to such rulers was a matter of asserting the importance of one's diocese or the involvement of the bishop in events of unquestionable significance. By contrast, when their English peers looked back to a golden age, it was one dominated by a royal-episcopal partnership in which prelates enjoyed unqualified oversight of the king and even his government. Kings mattered deeply to the historical memory of religious communities in both kingdoms, but the conclusions authors drew from the past reflected more fundamental differences in their approach to royal and episcopal authority. Although the primary aim of this thesis has been a comparison of the representation of kingship in England and Germany, a number of further implications are worth considering before we turn to the reasons why these differences emerged.

Spielregeln and political culture in twelfth-century England

The authors of the English *vitae*, in particular, recorded examples of what Reuter called the 'meta-language' of medieval political culture.[1] Although Gerd Althoff and others have long stressed the importance of royal honour and favour, the role played by mediators and intercessors, and the face-to-face and demonstrative nature of political conduct, such features have received relatively little attention with respect to twelfth-century England. In fact, in our analysis of the *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum*, authors in England, rather than Germany, paid greater attention to royal honour and the *Spielregeln* of medieval politics. Their accounts presented a political culture that discouraged frank debate, direct criticism, and public confrontation, and which regarded all as potential threats to one's honour. Yet, at the same time, the episcopal biographers sought to show how their bishops not only violated

[1] Timothy Reuter, 'Velle sibi fieri in forma hac. Symbolic Acts in the Becket dispute' in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 167-192.

these conventions, by their criticisms of kings, but were praised and remembered for doing so. The authors of episcopal *vitae* in twelfth-century England thus threw the normal conventions of political conduct into sharp relief by boasting about how their bishops had defied them. Mediators and intercessors, for example, clearly played an important role in both realms, but Anselm and Hugh of Lincoln were judged as impressive for bypassing such figures and approaching even enraged kings directly. For their part, such rulers found it more difficult to insult and threaten an archbishop in person, when compared to through a messenger.[2] The significance of royal honour is also more pronounced in the English *vitae*, a consequence, perhaps, of the extent to which it was invoked in the more numerous disputes recorded. The honour of both the Crown and Canterbury, for example, was judged to be interrelated. Attempts to correct the king were framed as different interpretations of how best to safeguard his dignity: those who allowed their ruler to continue in error were the ones who truly insulted his honour. As we discussed at the start of our enquiry, Althoff and others have suggested that these concepts and political conventions were of particular importance in societies where the machinery of administrative kingship was lacking. Rather than weakening the importance of these concepts and patterns of behaviour, however, we have seen that the very growth of royal government could itself generate more opportunities for them to be invoked and utilised.[3] According to the *Magna Vita*, Hugh of Lincoln's followers grew increasingly concerned by the contempt with which their master brushed off a seemingly endless series of royal demands, delivered by ever more insolent and numerous royal agents. At the same time, by arriving late for royal business, by insulting self-important chancery clerks, and by leading public opposition to new taxes, Hugh demonstrated his sanctity in the eyes of his biographers. This established a sharp contrast with those bishops who participated in royal government, in Adam of Eynsham's view, 'to the danger of their souls and forgetful of their profession'.[4] That the prominence of demonstrative behaviour, royal honour, and public gestures was so much more pronounced in the English *vitae* was also partly a consequence of the greater attention that those texts paid to the royal court. Indeed, although Althoff examined episcopal counsel, as a restraint on royal power, almost exclusively in reference to Germany, our study has found such oversight garnered far greater attention in

[2] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Rodney N. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007), 1: 146-147.
[3] See Levi Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871-978* (Cambridge, 2013), 220 which argued, with respect to late Anglo-Saxon England, that an increased use of institutional authority offered opportunities for the display of demonstrative behaviour.
[4] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis. The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln* , ed. and trans. Decima L. Douie and David Hugh Farmer, 2 vols. (Oxford 1961-1985), 2: 112.

England.[5] In terms of the importance attached to that counsel, and in the attention paid to *Spielregeln* more broadly, Althoff's ideas have proved rather more applicable to a realm in which kingship was accompanied by a 'state', rather than one without it.

The 'desacralisation of kingship': royal government and the Investiture Contest

Our analysis has also found little evidence to suggest that kingship was desacralised in the twelfth century. That we have been examining the narrative outputs of those very religious communities that might be thought to have gained from such a change, only reinforces the importance of this finding. While recent studies have gone some way to reaffirm the liturgical and sacral pretensions of high medieval kings, the connection between royal government, and a decline in royal sacrality has yet to be challenged.[6] Both Leyser and Mayr-Harting had judged that Hugh of Lincoln had supplied the Angevins with a sacrality otherwise threatened by the growth of royal government.[7] The latter suggested that Henry II 'needed every scrap of sacrality that he could attach to his kingship', while Geoffrey Koziol argued that English prelates were happy to disrupt moments of royal sacrality to enforce their own prerogatives. In addition, he claimed that ascetic holy men rebuked English kings for the injustices of their administrative government, the mechanisms of which were themselves 'on the margins of traditional political morality'.[8]

In practice, there was far more dialogue and mutual respect between admonishing bishops and the agents of royal government than these characterisations imply. In England,

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[5] See Gerd Althoff, *Kontrolle der Macht: Formen und Regeln politischer Beratung im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2016), 326-328; Björn Weiler, 'Review: Gerd Althoff, Kontrolle der Macht', *German History* 35:2 (2017), 310-311.

[6] For the former, see Nicholas Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England 1154-1272', in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. C. Morris and P. Roberts (Cambridge, 2002) 12-45; Nicholas Vincent, 'Christ and the King: Plantagenet Devotion to Jesus Christ, 1150-1270', in *Cristo e il potere: teologia, antropologia e politica*, ed. Laura Andreani and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Firenze, 2017), 111-126; Johanna Dale, 'Royal Inauguration and the Liturgical Calendar in England, France and the Empire, c.1050-c.1250', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 37 (2015), 83-98; and on Germany, especially Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: Zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin, 2009); Ludger Körntgen, 'Sakrales Königtum und Entsakralisierung in der Polemik um Heinrich IV' *in Heinrich IV*, ed. Gerd Althoff (Ostfildern, 2009), 127-160; for the initial suggestion that this was the case, see especially Karl Leyser, 'The Angevin Kings and the Holy Man', in *Communication and Power in the Middle Ages II: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1994), 157-175; Geoffrey Koziol, 'England, France, and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual', in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), 124-148.

[7] Henry Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society in the Medieval West, 600-1200* (Aldershot, 2010), 204; Leyser, 'The Angevin Kings and the Holy Man', 157-175.

[8] Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society*, 86-87. Mayr-Harting suggested that Becket's slight to the anniversary of Edward the Confessor's translation hurt in that context. As noted below, this slight was hardly praised by Becket's biographers. Koziol, 'England, France, and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual', 144-145.

episcopal *admonitio* often had little to do with royal government, but rather concerned the king's infringement of church liberties and, above all, his personal morality. When bishops, such as Hugh of Lincoln, criticised the demands of royal government, they were at their most vociferous when dealing with royal servants. Contrary to Leyser's suggestion that the greater institutionalisation of royal government in England had eroded a contemporary distinction between the personal and the abstract, Adam of Eynsham portrayed Hugh of Lincoln doing exactly that, separating the actions of Richard I from his government.[9] Even then, Hugh showed far more respect for the Exchequer, for example, than has previously been accepted, his episcopal biographer recognising that Angevin avarice was, at least in part, a response to the costs of war.

The more general notion that admonition reflected a lack of sacrality must also be challenged. Koziol pointed to the incident recorded by the *Vita Lanfranci* in which William the Conqueror, seated in royal majesty, had been greeted by a jester who claimed that he seemed to stand before God himself. In response to this blasphemous adulation, Lanfranc, stood beside the king, told the Conqueror to ignore such comments and to have the jester thrashed. The incident was recorded not to mock the king's pretensions, as has been thought, but to demonstrate the archbishop's moral oversight of a king who received no blame or criticism at all from Lanfranc or his biographer.[10] Indeed, on the one rare occasion where we do see a possible attempt to slight Henry II's sacrality, when Becket showed deliberate contempt for the anniversary of Edward the Confessor's translation, the reticence of the archbishop's biographers is striking: even Herbert of Bosham, it seems, either did not recognise the slight or wished to downplay it. Far from being keen, as Leyser suggested, 'to stamp on the dignity and pride of kings', the *vitae* highlight the often desperate attempts of English bishops to ensure religious ceremonies were conducted with due reverence.[11] This was the reason, after all, why Dunstan had dragged Eadwig back to his coronation feast and why the young Æthelred's interruption of his own baptism had been so disconcerting. In this regard, episcopal attempts to guide kings might well include upholding the bishop's own prerogatives, as when Ralph of Canterbury forced Henry I to be recrowned by his own hand.[12] Yet these incidents occurred precisely because such rituals continued to matter, not

[9] Karl Leyser, 'Some Reflections on Twelfth-century Kings and Kingship', in his *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours, 900-1250* (London, 1982), 241-267, at 249.
[10] Koziol, 'England, France, and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual', 145.
[11] Leyser, 'Some Reflections on Twelfth-century Kings and Kingship', 262-263.
[12] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 213.

because they were being mocked or dismissed. Far from seeking to deconstruct royal sacrality, the English *vitae* record sustained efforts to maintain it.

That such efforts were required in the first place does not lend credence to the notion that royal sacrality was in decline. On the contrary, we find much incidental information about the religious observances of English kings: as Nicholas Vincent noted, John's respect for the feast of Lent was revealed by his desire to breach the fast, rather than any failure to observe it in the first place.[13] As Björn Weiler has pointed out, episcopal *admonitio* was meant to be part of the normal exercise of royal power, rather than in opposition to it.[14] While this did not entail that bishops were incapable of causing offence on particular occasions, there is little evidence to suggest that the offering of *admonitio* alone implied a lack of sacrality. Quite the opposite. Adam of Eynsham might have felt that the Angevins were besmirched by their adulterous origins, but he still described their encounters with the holiest of bishops, characterised by courtesy, flattery, and deference.[15] John's shortcomings as a ruler, and as a Christian, derived from his failure to heed episcopal counsel, but the fact Adam thought it had been offered in the first place is significant. Hugh was portrayed as admonishing John, not in the hope that he would be transformed into a paragon of Christian rulership, but nor out of despair that the king was a god-forsaken tyrant. Episcopal *admonitio* mattered because kings, as Augustine and Ambrose had stressed, were as flawed as any other layman, but capable of improvement with clerical guidance. Similarly, there is little evidence that Henry IV's repeated excommunications and clashes with the Papacy, or the disloyal and sacrilegious conduct of his son, were thought to have diminished the sacrality of their successors. Sacrality might instead be best thought of as a kind of personal 'sacral honour', capable of drawing upon ancestral associations, but lost individually through acts of immorality. John's actions no more affected the sacrality of his successors than the adulterous antics of Eadwig had dented the sacrality of Edgar the Peaceable.

The more general impact of the Investiture Contest on contemporary attitudes towards kingship must also be reconsidered. Although our understanding of the nature and complexity of reform has advanced considerably, scholars still postulate (rather than demonstrate) its

[13] Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England 1154-1272', 21-22.
[14] Björn Weiler, 'Clerical Admonitio, Letters of Advice to Kings, and Episcopal Self-fashioning, c. 1000-1200', *History* 102:352 (2017), 557-575.
[15] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 2: 185.

profound impact in separating the sacred from the secular.[16] Matters are not helped by the fact that surveys of the high medieval Church remain rare, and that those that do exist and continue to be consulted often subscribed to a narrative of desacralisation. Richard Southern's survey of the transition from the early to the high medieval Church thus concluded:

> 'it is amazingly simple to knock over some cherished theories that no longer satisfy the needs of the time. The thoughts on which royal government had acted for several centuries were blown away like airy nonsense. Almost no one bothered to defend them. The old sacred kingship had no place in the new world of business'.[17]

Even Frank Barlow's more measured discussion of the impact of reform on the English Church nonetheless concluded that Gregory VII had 'paved the way for the expulsion of kings from the ecclesiastical structure'.[18] William Chester Jordan's survey of the Investiture Contest determined that the consequence of greatest significance was the fact that, now, 'a king, even an emperor, was a layman', a revelation that hardly would have surprised Augustine, Ambrose, or Gregory the Great.[19] Christopher Harper-Bill, in the most recent survey of the Anglo-Norman Church, likewise portrayed a great clash between an integrated church, of the kind ruled by Alfred and Constantine the Great, and a papal commonwealth.[20] One of Lanfranc's chief achievements, according to Harper-Bill, had been to hold back the

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[16] An unintended consequence, perhaps, of the more fundamental attempt 'to get beyond the dramatic story of Gregory VII's conflict with Henry IV'. For surveys of the scholarship on reform, see Conrad Leyser, 'Church reform – full of sound and fury, signifying nothing?', *Early Medieval Europe* 24 (2016), 478-499; Maureen C. Miller, 'The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis', *History Compass* 7 (2009), 1570-1580; Maureen C. Miller, 'New Religious Movements and Reform' in *A Companion to the Medieval World*, ed. Carol Lansing and Edward D. English (Chichester, 2009), 211-230, at 221 for the quotation that begins this footnote. In each case, the topic of kingship receives little attention beyond a recapitulation of the arguments made by Augustin Fliche and Gerd Tellenbach. For more recent works stressing the transformative impact of the Investiture Contest in creating a divide between the sacred and the secular, including in notions of rulership, see Jehangir Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth: Disputing Peace and Violence in Medieval Europe, 1000 - 1200* (Ithaca, New York, 2013). 79-80; Kathleen Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005), 128-130, at 161 for the suggestion that Canossa 'merely hastened what was always perhaps an inevitable outcome of reform: the irrevocable separation of the secular and divine', leading to 'perhaps inevitably, the wholesale reinvention of Latin European society'. See, for reservations, Ludger Körntgen, 'Der Investiturstreit und das Verhältnis von Religion und Politik im Frühmittelalter', in *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter: Deutschland und England im Vergleich*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominic Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2013), 89-11589-115 and the challenges cited in Johanna Dale, 'Conceptions of Kingship in High-medieval Germany in Historiographical Perspective', *History Compass* 16:6 (2018), 1-11.

[17] Richard Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (London, 1970), 37. The period thus witnessed, in Southern's memorable phrase, the ruler's 'spiritual nakedness'.

[18] For Barlow's discussion, and his important qualifications to this view, see Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154: A History of the Anglo-Norman Church* (London, 1979), especially 268-277, quotation at 270.

[19] William Chester Jordan, *Europe in the High Middle Ages* (London, 2002), 99.

[20] Christopher Harper-Bill, 'The Anglo-Norman Church', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge, 2003), 165-190, at 167.

tide of the Investiture Contest. Because of his positive attitude towards kings, Mayr-Harting has suggested, the archbishop might be called a 'pre-Gregorian man'.[21] Like Koziol and Leyser, Harper-Bill suggested that the reform movement had brought an end to sacral kingship, but also that 'in compensation, the Anglo-Norman monarchy had created a superb administrative machine' with which to tap the Church's temporal, but not sacred, resources.[22]

These narratives bear little relation to how twelfth-century religious communities responded to the Investiture Contest. This is especially striking in relation to the Empire, where, it is often assumed, its impact had been most severe. Mayr-Harting, for example, concluded that 'anyone who knows the Holy Roman Empire' would recognise that a 'transformation in the right order of the world' had occurred.[23] Richard Southern referred to the dispute coming to England while 'carried along on the wind of continental doctrine'.[24] Yet even in twelfth-century Germany, the response to the Investiture Contest was complex and ambiguous. Bishops were certainly lauded for the dramatic, and even ingenious, means by which they defended the Church from royal persecution. But such examples were the exception rather than the norm. More often, authors praised those who had mediated between the two sides. Rather than looking back to a golden age of resistance, they sought to disguise or forget acts of opposition. Throughout the twelfth century, Henry IV was viewed at times with considerable sympathy, especially when compared to the condemnations made of his son. Even support for the papacy did not automatically translate into criticism of the Salians, let alone a more fundamental reconsideration of kingship itself. Southern noted that

> 'most members of the lay and ecclesiastical aristocracies... would have been surprised to hear that they were living in the midst of a great Investiture Contest, and dumbfounded to learn that it was the most important event of their time'.[25]

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[21] Harper-Bill noted that the Investiture Contest lacked impact despite Anselm's 'best efforts', with the metropolitan characterised as an 'uncompromising Gregorian'. Harper-Bill went on to remind readers that 'We can easily forget that those who did not subscribe in full to the novel ideas of the Gregorian reform might be adequate, even admirable, bishops when judged by other standards'. Harper-Bill, 'The Anglo-Norman Church', 176-179, quotations at 177 and 179; Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society*, 33.

[22] Harper-Bill, 'The Anglo-Norman Church', 181-182, cf. 189.

[23] Mayr-Harting, *Religion and Society*, 24, 97-98 on the secular-sacred divide created by Gregorian reform; Harper-Bill, 'The Anglo-Norman Church', 175, 177.

[24] Richard Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1964), 310.

[25] Richard Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), 233. See also Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer*, 142-144, which pointed out, in relation to Eadmer's discussion of the dispute between Anselm and Rufus, that 'in a period rich in chronicles written by men who were alive while Anselm was archbishop there is very little to suggest that either the archbishop, or his struggle with the king, made any considerable impact on the country at large'.

Much the same might be said of these religious communities. The *gesta* and *vitae* they commissioned centred on the devastation wreaked by the revolts accompanying the Investiture Contest, and one wonders how far the latter would have been discussed without them. The very selectiveness with which the Investiture Contest was remembered provides a reminder of the gulf separating the priorities of modern scholarship from the historical memory of the twelfth century. It also cautions against attributing to the Contest any transformative impact on contemporary notions of kingship. Royal and episcopal responsibilities, not least in the provision of *admonitio,* continued to be regarded as complementary. In this respect, the twelfth-century Church had more in common with its early medieval predecessor than has often been suggested. The religious communities producing these *vitae* and *gesta* would have been shocked indeed to learn that their kings had been ejected from the church.[26]

Explaining *admonitio*

The most striking difference between the two realms is the greater importance attached to episcopal *admonitio* of kings in England. How might this reflect more fundamental structural differences between the political culture of the two polities? While royal control over episcopal appointments remained strong in both, the German episcopate attended court more sporadically.[27] Karl Leyser also pointed to the fact that, in Germany, political authority derived from multiple centres, while in England the royal court remained dominant.[28] As Nicholas Vincent has pointed out, this marked a fundamental difference between the two realms: in Germany it was possible for magnates to act with greater independence from the royal court.[29] The space devoted to recounting the affairs of the royal

[26] Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154,* 270.
[27] See Bernhard Töpfer, 'Kaiser Friedrich I. Barbarossa und der deutsche Reichsepiskopat', in *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen, 1992), 389-433, at 402, esp. 413-4 The Staufer have thus been regarded as re-establishing royal authority over the Church, including through episcopal attendance at court and royal service, even if their influence was not as pervasive as during the first half of the eleventh century: see Hagen Keller, *Zwischen regionaler Begrenzung und universalem Horizont: Deutschland im Imperium der Salier und Staufer 1024 bis 1250* (Berlin, 1986), 362; Alfred Haverkamp, *Aufbruch und Gestaltung: Deutschland 1056-1273* (Munich, 1984), 141; Carlrichard Brühl, 'Die Sozial-struktur des deutschen Episkopats im 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts', in *Le Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'Societas Christiana'dei secoli XI - XII* (Milan, 1977), 42–56; John Gillingham, *The Kingdom of Germany in the High Middle Ages* (1971), 7, 32 suggested that the only rulers to enjoy comparable influence over episcopal appointments were the English kings. John Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: the Prince and the Myth* (New Haven, 2016), 445-446 points out that attendance at Frederick Barbarossa's court decreased after his defeats in Italy in 1167 and 1176. In the 1150s a third of bishops visited his court on average once a year. By the 1180s only a tenth visited that frequently.
[28] Karl Leyser, 'Some Reflections on Twelfth-century Kings and Kingship', 266.
[29] Nicholas Vincent, 'Sources and Methods: Some Anglo-German Comparisons' in *Princely Rank in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Thorsten Huthwelker (Ostfildern, 2011), 119-138, at 129-131.

court, and the characterisation of it as a moral centre, likely reflects its relative political and structural importance in each realm.

The lack of a tradition of episcopal *admonitio* in the German *vitae* and *gesta* remains nonetheless striking. Admonition might, of course, take other forms. In particular, we have seen that German bishops interceded with the emperor to restrain his wrath during military campaigns. In Otto of Freising's *Gesta Friderici*, written 1157 x 1160, we also find a similar example to Wipo's account of Conrad II's election in 1024: Frederick Barbarossa explained his royal duties to the episcopate, who then offered their confirmation and assent.[30] Here, the episcopate's role in highlighting the norms underpinning good rulership was far from absent, but how this duty was realised was rather different. Even in the accounts of episcopal *admonitio* during military campaigns, the emphasis was on teaching and instruction: at no point was the emperor chastised for wrongs already committed. What is noticeably absent, when compared to the English *vitae*, is face-to-face criticism of the king and correction of his personal moral conduct. One explanation for this may lie in the changing nature of episcopal authority in Germany and the manner in which it was assessed by authors of episcopal *vitae* and *gesta*. Stefan Weinfurter argued that in this period both princes and bishops became, in Ludger Körntgen's phrase, a 'co-star of the king', representing themselves as the Empire in opposition to royal authority.[31] This reflected a broader shift in the self-conception of the German episcopate. Bishops began transforming their cities into sacral landscapes, while their charters, coins, seals, and household management increasingly took on forms, proportions, and techniques previously reserved for kings.[32] While initially not directed

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[30] See, for example, Otto of Freising, *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, MGH Script. Rer. Germ., 46, ed. Georg Waitz (Hannover, 1912), 183-185, 236-239; Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and his continuator Rahewin*, trans. C.C. Mierow (New York, 1953), 189-190, 234-237; *Wiponis Opera*, ed. Harry Bresslau (Hanover, 1915), 21-27.

[31] Ludger Körntgen, 'Living in Different Times. Germany between 1000 and 1100: Two Centuries for the Price of One', in *The Neighbours of Poland in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (Warsaw, 2002), 89-109, at 97, 103; Stefan Weinfurter, 'Reformidee und Konigtum im spätsalischen Reich' in *Reformidee und Reformpolitik im spätsalisch-frühstaufischen Reich*, ed. Hubertus Seibert and Stefan Weinfurter (Mainz, 1992), 1-45; Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition* (Philadelphia, Pa, 1999). See also Julia Schlick, *König, Fürsten und Reich (1056-1159): Herrschaftsverständnis im Wandel* (Stuttgart, 2001).

[32] Timothy Reuter, 'Property Transactions and Social Relations between Rulers, Bishops and Nobles in early eleventh-century Saxony. The evidence of the Vita Meinwerci' in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 1995), 165-199, at 193. As Reuter noted of Meinwerk, the main effect of his resources was to perpetuate their existence and strengthen the diocese as an institution and community. See also: Weinfurter, *The Salian Century*, 63-65, 78. Such changes were not the preserve of the Empire. Julia Barrow suggests that Anglo-Saxon towns, although less likely to take on the 'sacral landscapes' typical of episcopal cities of the Rhineland and further east, did sometimes develop sacral topography of their own through the building of gate churches, as at Canterbury, Gloucester, Bristol, and Oxford, which heightened

against the king, Weinfurter suggested that these changes nonetheless foreshadowed the emergence of ecclesiastical principalities, with bishops increasingly inclined to disregard royal interests when emphasising their own historical and institutional traditions.[33] This greater attention to diocesan institutional consciousness may explain why the genre of *gesta episcoporum* proved so much more popular in Germany than in England, though it should be observed that pride in one's bishopric and its historical traditions was hardly absent in the latter.[34] This shift in episcopal self-consciousness in Germany did not make royal authority irrelevant or inconsequential to these religious communities, but it perhaps led episcopal biographers to emphasise the prestige and legitimacy of their bishop in terms other than of royal oversight. Indeed, the elevated claims that both kings and bishops were making for themselves in late eleventh and twelfth-century Germany may have made the kind of moral oversight we found in England inappropriate as well as unnecessary. For their part, English kings may have found it easier to accept rebukes from a morally authoritative archbishop of Canterbury, when he lacked the military and economic muscle of his counterpart in Cologne. German kings, as well as bishops and their religious communities, perhaps felt that there was little prestige or legitimacy to be gained from proposing the moral subordination of one to the other. In addition, German authors were no doubt aware of the very real dangers only recently visited upon their dioceses during a period of prolonged civil war, the product not so much of the disintegration of royal authority (as, say, during the Anarchy in England), but of the deliberate use of violence by the Salian kings and their supporters. It is perhaps no surprise that, surrounded by the consequences of royal wrath, they urged their bishops to be cautious rather than critical. The *patria* of the kingdom, and its moral purity, mattered little if the *patria* of the diocese was in ruins.

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the spectacle of a bishop's *adventus*. See Julia Barrow, 'Demonstrative Behaviour and Political Communication in Later Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007), 127-150, at 135. On the possibility that Anglo-Norman architects followed a German lead, David Bates has suggested the echoes of Speyer in the building of Winchester cathedral: David Bates, '1066: Does the Date Still Matter?', *Historical Research* 78 (2005), 443-464, 455, 460.

[33] Weinfurter, *The Salian Century*, 65-68. See also on the role model of St Boniface: Joachim Schneider, 'Foundations and forms of princely lordship: the archbishopric of Mainz', in *The Origins of the German Principalities, 1100-1350. Essays by German Historians*, ed. Graham Loud and Jochen G. Schenk (London, 2017), 101-120, at 101-103.

[34] Weinfurter, *The Salian Century*, 89. The *Pontificale Gundekarianum*, symbolised this by portraying the bishops of the see, beginning with Willibald, in a sequence of arranged portraits. As Reuter points out, while under the Ottonian and early Salians not a single bishop had met a violent end within the German kingdom, cases began to increase thereafter with bishops murdered in feuds, attacked by their own knights, and in urban revolts. Both Conrad of Salzburg in 1112 and Albero of Trier in 1131 had to conquer their dioceses before their election. Reuter argued that bishops were thus as vulnerable to desacralisation as the German kings. Timothy Reuter, 'Peace-breaking, Feud, Rebellion, Resistance: Violence and Peace in the Politics of the Salian Era', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 355-387, at 369-370 and Reuter, 'Filii matris', 271-272.

One objection to this explanation, however, is the fact that this transformation in the self-conceptualisation of the German episcopate, and the repercussions of civil war, are both dated to the late eleventh and twelfth century. Yet, as we observed in our analysis of the Ottonian and early Salian *vitae*, in terms of the importance attributed to episcopal *admonitio*, the contrast between England and Germany emerged far earlier. Indeed, the Anglo-Saxon roots of this tradition, though much embellished by twelfth-century authors, should be borne in mind. Nor is there any sign that the trends we have found in the English *vitae*, whether of episcopal oversight or of the miraculous support provided to kings in war, derived any fresh impetus from the importation of Norman models after 1066.[35]

A further explanation concerns not the nature of royal or episcopal authority, but that of the kingdom itself: how was the realm conceptualised by episcopal biographers? Theo Riches has advanced an important and highly-relevant argument in this regard concerning the *gesta episcoporum*. The Carolingian *gesta*, he suggested, were more outward-looking than their high medieval successors, the perspective of the authors embracing the royal court and the polity as a whole. After the collapse of the Carolingian Empire, in Riches' view, the dioceses developed their own historical consciousness, viewing themselves as 'free-standing, semi-autonomous units'.[36] Where the bishopric had once been imagined in relation to a wider polity, this new 'imagined self-identity' placed bishops at the centre of their own, independently driven, historical narrative.

Here, an important contrast with the English *vitae* emerges. This is not to suggest that twelfth-century religious communities in England were any less conscious of their historical

[35] The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*, a history of the archbishops of Rouen, written c. 1070 and revised c. 1090, has few parallels to the image of episcopal behaviour found in this study. The one exception, where Bishop Franco 'soothed Rollo's savage mind, as much by divine words as by pious deeds, in order that he could rule the land he had acquired with peace and justice' was placed in the context of Rollo's conversion to Christianity. As Weiler has pointed out, the image and conditions of Norman episcopal power were very different. See Richard Allen, 'The Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium: Study and Edition', *Tabularia* 9 (2009), 1–66, at 37, 51; Björn Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings in England, c. 1066 – c. 1215', in *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter: Deutschland und England im Vergleich*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2013), 157–204, at 188; Samantha Kahn Herrick, 'Heirs to the Apostles: Saintly Power and Ducal Authority in Hagiography of Early Normandy', in T*he Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950–1300*, ed. Robert F. Berkhofer, Alan Cooper, and Adam Kosto (Aldershot, 2005), 11–24.

[36] Theo Riches, 'The Changing Political Horizons of Gesta Episcoporum from Ninth to Eleventh Centuries', in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2011), 51-62, especially 52, 58-61 which suggested an interesting parallel with the British Empire, the Europe of bishoprics, like the British Commonwealth, forging its own parallel set of episcopal cultures and histories.

traditions or that English *vitae* were not written from a primarily local perspective. Episcopal authority and oversight were nonetheless conceived of as extending not just to the king, but to the kingdom and the English people as a whole. The *vitae* stressed that episcopal influence extended well beyond the royal court to the very heart of royal government. The impact of episcopal *admonitio* was felt to encompass even the realm's material prosperity. The connection between episcopal influence and the polity had biblical, classical, and early medieval precedents, but it was a link which emerged with particular force in late Anglo-Saxon England. This relationship, absent in the German *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum*, was then given fresh impetus in twelfth-century England: William of Malmesbury, for example, went well beyond his sources to stress that the benefits of episcopal counsel spread, through the king's person, to every part of the kingdom. This points to an important motivation underpinning the forceful tradition of *admonitio* in England: the correction of kings, the condition of the king's soul, and the court's moral purity all mattered because they were bound up with the fate of the wider political community. That is, the importance attached to episcopal oversight derived, in no small part, from the connection between king and realm and, crucially, an awareness and recognition of the latter's moral unity.

In this context, the extent to which episcopal biographers in England identified their bishops directly with the kingdom and the English people is significant. The link was particularly emphasised in relation to Canterbury: Goscelin of St Bertin named Dunstan 'the father of the English' while Eadmer called Oda of Canterbury 'the father of the nation'.[37] Lanfranc too was 'so far as he was allowed to be... a devoted father to the whole of England'.[38] Eadmer's *Historia Novorum* began with the suggestion that England was 'fortunate to have King Edgar and Father Dunstan... in bodily presence'.[39] William of Malmesbury, in similar fashion, thought of Dunstan as England's 'brightest star' and his

[37] Rosalind C. Love, 'The Life of St Wulfsige of Sherborne by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: A New Translation with Introduction, Appendix and Notes', in *St Wulfsige and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Millennium of the Benedictine Abbey*, ed. Katherine Barker, David A Hinton and Alan Hunt (Oxford, 2005), 98-128, at 111-112; Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, in *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J Turner (Oxford, 2006), 220-221.
[38] Eadmer of Canterbury, *History of Recent Events in England*, trans. Geoffrey Bosanquet (London, 1964), 24; Eadmer of Canterbury, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule (London, 1884), 23 'ipsum re vera magnum et insuperabilem ecclesia Christi defensorem et pium totius Angliae patrem, ac in quantum sibi licuit bonum pastorem cunctis in ea consistentibus dum vixit fuisse'.
[39] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 3.

episcopal colleagues as 'masters of all England'.[40] Anselm, too, was characterised by William as the 'father of his country', the realm blessed with an archbishop sent to cut out the evils afflicting the nation as a whole.[41] William lamented that God had not 'kept Anselm alive longer in the service of England'.[42] While these comments were made primarily in relation to Canterbury, we have seen that concern for the kingdom was a characteristic of the English Church as a whole. Gundulf of Rochester was loved by 'the whole people of England', while Hugh of Lincoln resisted royal abuses on behalf not only of his diocese, but the realm in general.[43] The greatest miracle recorded in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* was the freeing of the English people from slavery, performed by St Cuthbert in recognition of the saintly merits of the nation as a whole.[44] The pastoral concern of these bishops thus extended to the kingdom at large, a reflection of the 'regnal solidarity' identified by Reuter as such a fundamental contrast between England and Germany.[45] It is difficult to imagine a twelfth-century German bishop being described as the 'father of the *regnum Teutonicorum*' when the latter, for many contemporaries, scarcely existed.[46]

That identification with the kingdom may also provide an explanation as to why English episcopal biographers, on those occasions when they did discuss service to kings on the battlefield, were considerably more enthusiastic than their German counterparts. It is worth remembering that when, according to Eadmer, Oda of Canterbury had intervened at the Battle of Brunanburh, he had done so to help defeat a pagan foe determined to 'obliterate the most sacred laws of the Christians observed by the English'. Afterwards he received the thanks not just of a grateful army and king, but of the nation.[47] In England, in contrast to Germany, royal service represented a high ideal perhaps because it was identified with the defence of one's *patria*. This may have been a consequence of the fact that episcopal aid was invoked by kings more often to put down rebellions, or ward off foreign invasions, than to

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[40] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani,* in *Saints' Lives. Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 198-201; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 106-107.
[41] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. & trans. R.A.B. Mynors, continued by Rodney .N. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998-1999), 1: 560-561; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 120-121.
[42] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 188-189.
[43] *Life of Gundulf of Rochester*, 61: 'omni populo Angliae'; Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, 1: 70-72.
[44] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 1: 408-411.
[45] Timothy Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050: Points of Comparison and Difference', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 284-299, at 296-299.
[46] See Carlrichard Brühl, *Deutschland - Frankreich: die Geburt zweier Völker*, revised edn. (Cologne, 1995).
[47] Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Odonis,* in *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J Turner (Oxford, 2006),12-15.

secure an imperial coronation far from the diocese itself.[48] The English episcopate and their biographers were far more familiar than their German counterparts with the threat of foreign invasion. After Lechfeld (955), by contrast, any existential threat to the integrity of the German kingdom was internal in nature. Although one should be wary of inferring such a conclusion, without any evidence from the *vitae* or *gesta*, the imperial dimension of German kingship may also have played a part here, with authors less attracted to the notion of a *patria* defined by nation, custom, and moral unity, when they could claim association instead with an imperial tradition sanctified by the arrival of Christ himself.

That episcopal support to English kings, by contrast, was justified in relation to the *patria* may also explain why authors in England were noticeably more comfortable with the aggressive tactics urged on by their bishops and the destruction left in the wake of their miraculous interventions. We see a further example of this just beyond our period. In 1224 a rebel garrison at Bedford had surrendered to the king. Stephen Langton (r. 1207-1228) and the bishops of Lincoln, Bath, and Chichester all urged Henry III to execute the garrison. While the source for this account was a hostile one, such tactics in fact reflected a tradition of episcopal aggression in royal campaigns which stretched back to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Thomas Becket, Henry of Winchester, and even Oda of Canterbury.[49] As Langton and his colleagues pointed out, had the king shown such severity at an earlier stage in the rebellion, the realm would have been spared much bloodshed and disorder.[50] Episcopal military service on the king's behalf was thus bound up with a concern for the English realm and people, one with little parallel in Germany. But that connection could prove a double-edged sword if severed. During the invasion of England by Prince Louis (1215-1217), the bishops of Salisbury and Bath blessed the royal fleet before the decisive naval engagement near Sandwich, but did so by offering absolution to those who died for English liberty.[51] Half a century later, Thomas Becket was witnessed rising from the dead, ready 'to fight for my

[48] It is perhaps significant in this context that the miraculous support rendered by bishops to the Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings abroad was attributed to them by contemporaries, rather than as a result of their actions. The reluctance of Hugh of Lincoln to offer money towards the king's campaigns across the Channel perhaps suggest that the ideal of royal service was strongest where it could be identified with the defence of England itself. See above, 218.
[49] See above, 144-145.
[50] Sophie Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community of England, 1213-1272* (Oxford, 2017), 27.
[51] Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community of England,* 25-26.

patria of England'.[52] But Becket had returned to fight, not for the king, but the rebel leader, Simon the Montfort: the identification between *patria* and *rex* had been broken.

One final explanation for the greater importance of episcopal admonition in England lies in the momentum built up by expectations of behaviour. As Nicholas Vincent has pointed out, historians, trained to search for cause and consequence, naturally distrust explanations based on 'inconsequential and ethereal concepts such as taste or *Zeitgeist*'.[53] The traditions, precedents, and ideals promulgated by the *vitae* were similarly intangible, but their capacity to influence political action should not be underestimated. They had been written, after all, precisely to encourage future behaviour. A normative tradition of admonishing kings, stretching back at least to the tenth century, may have developed its own momentum in England, with expectation and practice continually reinforcing one another. As Steffen Patzold described, in relation to the Carolingian episcopate, norms of behaviour have their own influence once associated with a particular office and passed on through texts, habit, and instruction.[54] Equally, their effect should not be exaggerated - such expectations could be manifested in different ways or simply be ignored. They were difficult, however, to eradicate completely. Refusing to adhere to them carried a risk: the bishop might be criticised by one's own community or the latter might simply obliterate his actions from the communal memory by refusing to record deeds which transgressed their expectations. In other words, once it was expected that a bishop should admonish a king, he might refuse, or be unable to do so, but his successors would be under no less of an obligation to try.

We have already seen that these expectations were repeated through the rewriting of *vitae* in light of new realities of royal persecution. The image of Dunstan as royal critic was reinforced, beyond previous precedents, after the Norman Conquest. Eadmer's account of Wilfrid's mistreatment by seventh-century kings may have been written after Anselm had similarly been harangued at a royal assembly and fled into exile, while John of Salisbury reworked Eadmer's account of the same archbishop to stress even more forcefully the dangers of royal tyranny and the virtues of archiepiscopal resistance. The Anselm whom

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[52] Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community of England*, 133; *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. RS 73 (2 vols., Rolls Series, 1880), 2: 238. The translation used here, slightly adapted, is that made by Ambler.

[53] Nicholas Vincent, 'The Strange Case of the Missing Biographies: The Lives of the Plantagenet Kings of England 1154-1272', in *Writing Medieval Biography, 750-1250*, ed. David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), 237-258, at 255.

[54] Steffen Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern, 2008). 38-45.

Becket sought to have canonised was, as Becket's followers stressed, a 'hammer of tyrants'. In Southern's view, the model of his pontificate provided the most important clue for understanding Becket's own behaviour.[55] The *vitae*, in this respect, may represent the tip of a far deeper set of historical traditions. Becket himself, as well as his biographers, drew attention to a Canterbury tradition of resistance to secular power on behalf of the wider Church, one that included Theobald of Bec and St Ælfheah, as well as Dunstan and Anselm.[56] Becket, of course, in turn provided the most notable example for his successors. As Sophie Ambler has put it, 'Becket's struggle and martyrdom soaked the cultural landscape'.[57] Becket's example was of fundamental importance to how Stephen Langton approached his office: Langton displayed the martyrdom on his seal and organised a magnificent translation of the saint's relics in 1220, evoking the martyrdom of St Edmund and St Ælfheah in an event attended by the entire English episcopate.[58] Becket's resistance to royal tyranny provided a model for the canonisation of Wulfstan of Worcester in 1202 and Hugh of Lincoln in 1219.[59] Wulfstan's staff, taken as a symbol of resistance to royal tyranny, became the image most associated with the bishop of Worcester, an illustration of the dominance achieved by this particular aspect of episcopal behaviour. We would therefore do well to view the importance of Becket's example as a reflection of a broader tradition of *admonitio*, common to the English episcopate as a whole, one which Becket came to embody, but for which he was certainly not the sole source. According to Gervase of Canterbury, Becket had claimed Wulfstan's staff as his fee for participating in the translation of Edward the Confessor.[60] Although Gervase's testimony is late, it draws attention to the possibility that the traffic in episcopal expectations, between Canterbury and the wider episcopate, did not always move in one direction. Stephen Langton took possession of Wulfstan's right arm during the bishop's own translation in 1218 and announced Hugh of Lincoln's canonisation at the second coronation of Henry III in 1220.[61] The 'cross-fertilisation' between different diocesan traditions may have been more considerable than the *vitae* imply.

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[55] Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* (Oxford, 1973), 79; *MTB* 3:270, 540; Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer*, 337.
[56] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 152-153 for examples.
[57] Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community of England*, 20.
[58] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 194, 200; cf. 176-177; Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community of England*, 20-21.
[59] André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. J. Burrell (Cambridge, 1997), 167–170.
[60] Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester* (Oxford, 1990), 283-284; Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols., Rolls Series, 1880), 2: 285.
[61] Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, 2: 298; Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 200.

That Hugh of Lincoln's canonisation was announced during a coronation reflects the broader reality that the saintly cults of these bishops enjoyed considerable royal support. When Henry II undertook his pilgrimage to Becket's shrine in 1174, he began by changing into a sackcloth at the Church of St Dunstan.[62] According to Gervase of Canterbury, upon being freed from captivity, one of Richard I's first priorities was to visit Becket's shrine.[63] Indeed, the speed with which the Angevins embraced Becket's cult has led to him being called the family's patron saint.[64] It had been with Becket's support, after all, that Henry II had defeated his rebellious sons, and Langton would later invoke the archbishop's memory to lend legitimacy to the fragile regime of Henry's eponymous grandson, Henry III.[65] The corpse of Hugh of Lincoln, as Adam of Eynsham stressed, had been carried on the shoulders of King John, the same ruler who had invoked the legend of Wulfstan's staff to justify royal control over the Church. John too would seek Wulfstan's support even on his deathbed.[66] Rather than regarding such royal support as attempts to rob these cults of their subversive nature, it might be argued that it instead reflects a continuity with the *admonitio* of the bishops themselves, whose criticism (and even resistance) rarely denoted outright opposition. The courteous and restrained tradition of episcopal oversight, of which even Becket was a part, laid the foundation for later royal support. Henry II had been forced to forbid the monks of Canterbury from escorting him in majesty to Becket's shrine. As Vincent noted, 'a king who has to command the observation of his own humility cannot be said to have been truly humbled'.[67] The same might well be said of the English kings who arranged the very meetings at which their own admonition would take place.

The contrast between England and Germany in this respect became only more entrenched during the course of the thirteenth century, as Björn Weiler has demonstrated.[68] The archbishops of Mainz and Cologne certainly retained a role as kingmakers and power brokers.[69] Adolf of Altena, archbishop of Cologne (r. 1193-1205), claimed the right to assess the suitability of candidates for the imperial throne, a reflection of his role in performing the

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[62] Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, 1: 248-249.
[63] Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, 1: 251.
[64] On this point, see the essays collected in *The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World, c.1170-c.1220*, ed. Marie-Pierre Gelin and Paul Webster (Woodbridge, 2016).
[65] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 201.
[66] Mason, *St. Wulfstan*, 280-283.
[67] Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England', 16.
[68] The following paragraph draws heavily on Björn Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture: England and Germany, c. 1215 - c.1250* (Basingstoke, 2007), 159-163.
[69] In addition to Weiler, see Schneider, 'Foundations and Forms of Princely Lordship: the Archbishopric of Mainz', 104-106.

coronation.[70] When a college of electors eventually emerged, responsible for choosing the emperor-elect, it included the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier. Although the most prestigious members of the German episcopate thus had a similar role in selecting and supporting candidates for the throne, a comparable tradition of episcopal admonition did not emerge: the archbishops of Cologne never established a model of behaviour comparable to their Canterbury colleagues in this regard. Criticism of royal behaviour was certainly not absent but, as Weiler has shown, it was delivered by the ruler's secular allies, by urban communities, and by the pope, rather than being seen as an episcopal duty to be applauded and remembered.[71] While the duty to speak truth to power was recognised across the Latin West, its manifestation in England as a powerful and entrenched tradition of moral oversight over kings was unusual.

In England this tradition grew only bolder. As is now well-recognised, the English episcopate, above all Stephen Langton, were in no small part responsible for producing, publicising, and protecting Magna Carta.[72] Langton, but also Edmund of Abingdon, Richard of Chichester, and Lawrence of Dublin were venerated for their resistance to royal tyranny and oversight of royal behaviour.[73] The Becket remembered in the thirteenth century was not the royal counsellor of Henry II and defender of ecclesiastical liberty, but a steadfast protector of the political community, including its laws and customs.[74] As both Weiler and Ambler have demonstrated, the criticism faced by Henry III in the revolt of Richard Marshal (1233-1234) bears important similarities to the encounters discussed in this thesis. Here, episcopal *admonitio* was restrained, framed in terms of loyalty to the king, focused on malicious courtiers, and was said to be motivated by concern for the peace and well-being of realm and people.[75] But the remit of episcopal oversight had also expanded beyond previous precedents: the English episcopate now sought not only to criticise the ruler's personal and

[70] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 197.
[71] Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture*, especially 161-164.
[72] John W. Baldwin, 'Master Stephen Langton, Future Archbishop of Canterbury. The Paris Schools and Magna Carta', *English Historical Review* 123 (2008), 811–846; David d'Avray, 'Magna Carta, Its Background in Stephen Langton's Academic Biblical Exegesis and its Episcopal Reception', *Studi Medievali* ser. 3 38:1 (1997), 423–438; Nicholas Vincent and David Carpenter, 'Feature of the Month: June 2015:Who Did (and Did Not) Write Magna Carta' accessed at http://magnacartaresearch.org/read/feature_of_the_month/Jun_2015_3 on 20/09/2018; David Carpenter, *Magna Carta* (London, 2015), 373–379; David Carpenter, 'Archbishop Langton and Magna Carta: His Contribution, His Doubts and His Hypocrisy', *English Historical Review* 126 (2011), 1041–1065; Nicholas Vincent, 'Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury', in *Étienne Langton, prédicateur, bibliste, théologien*, ed. L.J. Bataillon, N. Bériou, G. Dahan, and R. Quinto (Turnhout 2010), 51–123.
[73] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 195; Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture*, 160.
[74] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 194; Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community of England*, 67.
[75] Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture*, especially 159-161.

moral conduct, or his assaults on the Church, but now wished in addition to reform royal government itself, alter royal policies, and ensure they conformed both to the law and noble counsel.[76] Indeed, in 1258, the barons enjoyed the intellectual support of the episcopate in their attempt to establish an entirely new form of conciliar government: as Ambler has put it, bishops were among 'the leading protagonists in England's first revolution'.[77]

It is thus only a slight exaggeration to say that the tradition of episcopal *admonitio,* charted by this study, helped lay the intellectual foundation for the very events and institutions that would later give rise to notions of English exceptionalism. Rather than return to narratives of either an English or German *Sonderweg*, however, this thesis has demonstrated how the political cultures of England and Germany should be examined through a systematic comparison of how contemporaries thought and represented the exercise of royal power. It has also offered the opportunity to apply appoaches developed in relation to one part of the Latin West to another, highlighting the insights to be gained from drawing on the scholarship of more than one national tradition. Most importantly, it has allowed us to trace very real differences in how royal and episcopal behaviour was discussed in twelfth-century England and Germany and offer suggestions as to how that representation reflected more fundamental differences between the two realms. Our comparative approach has thus drawn attention to variations in a common European political culture that might otherwise have been overlooked. Indeed, it is only by exploring the experience of kingship comparatively, by highlighting both the shared foundations and the divergent trajectories of contemporary political thought, that we can grasp the distinctiveness of different political traditions, be they in England, Germany, or in any other part of High Medieval Europe.

[76] Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community of England*, 9. I would differ only slightly with Ambler's interpretation, by seeing the restrained criticism of the bishops as more in keeping with a classical rather than a biblical tradition, the latter tending to focus on severe, rather than courteous and restrained, admonition.
[77] Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings', 196; Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community of England*, 8.

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‘Monumenta Germaniae Historiae digital’: https://www.dmgh.de

‘Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online’: http://www.oxforddnb.com/

Appendix 1: Table of English *vitae* examined in the thesis

This table contains information relating to the English *vitae* examined by the thesis. The information provided, unless otherwise stated, derives from the editions used in the course of the thesis and which are listed in the bibliography. In the case of the biographies of Thomas Becket, however, this information has been taken from Michael Staunton, *Thomas Becket and His Biographers* (Woodbridge, 2006).

Name of vita/gesta	**Commissioned by or dedicated to (if known)**	**Author (if known)**	**Date written**	**Location of writing**	**Bishop followed by date of pontificate (or approximate coverage of the work)**
Gesta Pontificum Anglorum		William of Malmesbury (c. 1095-1143), Benedictine monk, librarian, scholar at Malmesbury Abbey	1118 x 1125 (first edition), revisions until 1140	Malmesbury abbey	597-1143
Historia novorum in Anglia		Eadmer of Canterbury (c. 1060- c. 1126), monk at Benedictine monastery of Christ Church Canterbury, friend, secretary and chaplain of Anselm	c. 1115	Christ Church, Canterbury	1066-1122
Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis	At request of two monks of Winchester	Adam of Eynsham, (c. 1155- d. 1233) Benedictine monk, prior then abbot of Eynsham abbey, and chaplain to Hugh	Complete c. 1212	Eynsham abbey	Hugh of Lincoln (r. 1186-1200)
Translatio Sancti Ælfegi	Lanfranc	Osbern (c. 1050-1090), Benedictine monk, hagiographer, precentor of Christ Church, Canterbury	c. 1080	Christ Church, Canterbury	1023

Vie de Saint Thomas Becket		Guernes of Pont-Ste-Maxence, clerk writing in French	1174		Thomas of Canterbury (r. 1162-1170)
Vita Anselmi		Eadmer of Canterbury	c. 1124	Christ Church, Canterbury	Anselm of Canterbury (r. 1093-1109)
Vita Anselmi		John of Salisbury (c. 1120-1180), diplomat, philosopher, later bishop of Chartres, clerk and friend of Becket	Before May 1163 (used by Becket to support canonisation bid at Tours)	Presumably Christ Church, Canterbury	Anselm of Canterbury (r. 1093-1109)
Vita Dunstani	Anselm (while abbot of Bec)	Osbern	1089-1093	Christ Church, Canterbury	Dunstan of Canterbury (r. 959-988)
Vita Dunstani	For Glastonbury	William of Malmesbury	c. 1129 x 1130	Malmesbury abbey	Dunstan of Canterbury (r. 959-988)
Vita et miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis		William of Canterbury, monk at Christ Church	1173 x 1174		Thomas of Canterbury (r. 1162-1170)
Vita Galfridi		Gerald of Wales (c. 1146-1223), archdeacon, historian, royal clerk and chaplain to a king and two archbishops	c. 1193	Probably at the royal court at this point[1937]	Geoffrey of York (r. 1189-1212)
Vita Gundulfi		Anonymous monk at Rochester	c. 1114 x 1124	Rochester cathedral community	Gundulf of Rochester (r. 1075-1108)
Vita Lanfranci		Milo Crispin (d. 1149?), cantor of Benedictine abbey of Bec	c. 1140	Bec abbey	Lanfranc of Canterbury (r. 1070-1089)

[1937] Robert Bartlett, 'Gerald of Wales [Giraldus Cambrensis, Gerald de Barry] (c. 1146–1220x23), author and ecclesiastic' accessed at www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10769 on 13/09/2018.

Vita S. Dubricii		Benedict of Gloucester, monk at St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester	c. 1148 x 1183	St Peter's abbey, Gloucester	Dyfrig, legendary British prelate (c. 465-550)
Vita S. Dunstani		Eadmer of Canterbury	before 1116, possibly 1105 x 1109	Christ Church, Canterbury (though possibly during exile abroad)	Dunstan of Canterbury (r. 959-988)
Vita S. Hugonis	Dedicated to Stephen Langton c 1214	Gerald of Wales	1210 x 1214	Lincoln cathedral?	Hugh of Lincoln (r. 1186-1200)
Vita S. Odonis		Eadmer of Canterbury	Before 1116 (likely closer to 1100)	Christ Church, Canterbury	Oda of Canterbury (r. 941-958)
Vita S. Oswaldi		Eadmer of Canterbury	Before 1116, possibly 1113	Christ Church, Canterbury	Oswald of Worcester/York (r. 972-992)
Vita S. Thomae		William FitzStephen (died 1191?), clerk and administrator in Becket's household	1173 x 1174		Thomas of Canterbury (r. 1162-1170)
Vita S. Thomae		Edward Grim, clerk and *magister*	1171 x 1172		Thomas of Canterbury (r. 1162-1170)
Vita S. Thomae	Dedicated to Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury (r. 1184-1190)	Herbert of Bosham (d. c. 1194), clerk in Henry II's chapel, then chancellor to Becket	1186 x 1188		Thomas of Canterbury (r. 1162-1170)
Vita S. Thomae		Anonymous I, clerk to Becket during his stay at Pontigny 1164-1166	1176 x 1177		Thomas of Canterbury (r. 1162-1170)

Vita S. Thomae		Anonymous II, probably a monk	1172 x 1173		Thomas of Canterbury (r. 1162-1170)
Vita S. Thomae		Alan of Tewkesbury (d. 1202), canon of Benevento (1171?–1174); monk (1174–9), then prior (6 August 1179 – early June 1186) of Christ Church, Canterbury then later abbot of Tewkesbury abbey	1176		Thomas of Canterbury (r. 1162-1170)
Vita S. Thomae Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Martyris		John of Salisbury	1171 x 1172		Thomas of Canterbury (r. 1162-1170)
Vita S. Wilfridi		Eadmer of Canterbury	first version completed before 1110, second before 1116)	Christ Church, Canterbury	Wilfrid of York (r. 664-678)
Vita Wulfstani	For Worcester	William of Malmesbury (based on earlier Old English life by monk Coleman, Wulfstan's chaplain and confidant)	c. 1125	Malmesbury	Wulfstan of Worcester (r. 1062-1095)

Appendix 2: Table of German *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum* examined in the thesis

This table contains information relating to the German *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum* examined by the thesis. The information provided, unless otherwise stated, is taken from Dirk Schochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters: Die politische Instrumentalisierung von Geschichtsschreibung* (Paderborn, 1998) and Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart, 2000), especially 474-563.

Name of vita/gesta	**Commissioned by or dedicated to (if known)**	**Author (if known)**	**Date written**	**Location of writing**	**Bishop followed by date of pontificate (or approximate coverage of the work)**
Vita Lietberti		Rudolf of St Sepulchre, monk	1092 x 1133, probably c. 1100	St Sepulchre monastery, Cambrai (founded by, and burial place of, the biography's subject)	Lietbert of Cambrai (r. 1051-1076)
Vita Annonis I	Reginhard of Siegburg (r.1076-1105), abbot of Siegburg	Unknown monk of Siegburg monastery	1104/1105	Siegburg monastery, Cologne (founded by, and burial place of, the biography's subject)	Anno of Cologne (r. 1056-1075)
Vita Bennonis		Likely abbot Norbert of Iburg monastery	1090 x 1100	Iburg monastery (founded by, and burial place of, the biography's subject)	Benno II of Osnabrück (r. 1068-1088)
Vita Annonis Minor (Vita Annonis II)	Gerhard I of Siegburg (r. 1173-1185?), abbot of Siegburg	Unknown monk of Siegburg monastery	1173 x 1183	Siegburg monastery, Cologne (founded by, and burial place of, the biography's subject)	Anno of Cologne (r. 1056-1075)
Vita Balderici		Unknown monk of St Jacques monastery, Liège	1100 x 1110, possibly 1108	St Jacques monastery, Liege	Balderich II of Liège (r. 1008-1018)
Vita Heriberti		Rupert of Deutz, abbot of Deutz abbey, Cologne	1119	Deutz abbey, Cologne (founded by, and burial place of, the biography's subject)	Heribert of Cologne (r. 999-1021)

Vita Chounradi episcopi Constantiensis I	Bishop Ulrich of Constance	Udalschalk, abbot of St Ulrich and Afra monastery, Augsburg	1111 x 1123	Composed in exile in Constance	Conrad of Constance (r. 934-975)
Vita Chounradi episcopi Constantiensis II		Cathedral canon or monk	1127, mid-twelfth century	Unclear if cathedral church of Constance or attached monastery	Conrad of Constance (r. 934-975)
Vita Odonis	Abbot Alvisus of Anchin	Amandus de Castello, prior of Anchin monastery	Shortly after 1113, before 1116	Anchin monastery	Odo of Cambrai (r. 1105-1116)
Vita Hartwici		Unknown canon of Salzburg	Written c. 1181	Salzburg cathedral chapter	Hartwig of Salzburg (r. 991-1023)
Vita Altmanni	Dedicated to abbot Chadaloh/Chadalhoch (r. 1125-1141) of Göttweig	Unknown monk of Göttweig monastery	1132 x 1141	Göttweig abbey (founded by, and burial place of, the biography's subject)	Altmann of Passau (r. 1065-1091)
Vita Gebehardi Salisb. II		Unknown monk of Admont monastery	After 1181	Admont monastery	Gebehard II of Constance (r. 979-995)
Vita Friderici		Nizo, monk of St Lawrence monastery, Liège	1139 x 1158/1161	St Lawrence monastery attached to cathedral of Liège	Frederick of Liège (r. 1119-1121)
Gesta Alberonis		Balderich, master of cathedral school at Trier	After 1152	Cathedral chapter, Trier	Albero of Trier (r. 1131/1132-1152)
Vita Ottonis I		Possibly Wolfger of Prüfening	c. 1151/1152	Prüfening abbey, Regensburg (founded by the biography's subject)	Otto of Bamberg (r. 1102/1106-1139)
Vita Ottonis II		Ebo, monk of Michelsberg monastery	1151 x 1159	Michelsberg abbey, Bamberg (founded by, and burial place of, the biography's subject)	Otto of Bamberg (r. 1102/1106-1139)

Dialogus de vita s. Ottonis *(Vita Ottonis III)*		Herbord of Michelsberg, probably first Regensburg cathedral canon then later monk of Michelsberg from 1146	1159	Michelsberg abbey, Bamberg (founded by, and burial place of, the biography's subject)	Otto of Bamberg (r. 1102/1106-1139)
Vita Wernheri		Possibly cathedral canon of Merseburg	Mid-twelfth century	Possibly cathedral chapter, Magdeburg	Wernher of Merseburg (r. 1059-1093)
Vita Norberti A		Anonymous German premonstratensian monk	1145 x 1161/4	St Mary's abbey, Magdeburg	Norbert of Magdeburg (r. 1126-1134)
Vita Meinwerci		Anonymous monk of Abingdhof, often identified with Abbot Conrad	1155 x 1165	Abdinghof abbey, Paderborn – (founded by, and burial place of, the biography's subject)	Meinwerk of Paderborn (r. 1009-1036)
Vita Evracli		Reiner, monk of St Lawrence monastery, Liège	1161 x c. 1187	St Lawrence, Liège (founded by, and burial place of, the biography's subject)	Evraclus of Liège (r. 959-971)
Vita Wolbodonis		Reiner, monk of St Lawrence monastery, Liège	1161 x c. 1187	St Lawrence, Liege (founded by, and burial place of, the biography's subject)	Wolbodo of Liège (r. 1018-1021)
Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis		Cathedral canon and archdeacon at Salzburg, usually identified with Provost Henry of Gars (author of *Historia calamitatum ecclesiae Salzburgensis*).	1170 x 1184[1938]	Likely cathedral chapter Salzburg	Conrad of Salzburg (r. 1106-1147)

[1938] The dating is disputed. See Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 516-517.

Vita Adalberonis episcopi Wirziburgensis		Anonymous monk Lambach monastery	1197 x 1204	Lambach monastery (founded by, and burial place of, the biography's subject)	Adalbero of Würzburg (r. 1045-1090)
Vita Arnoldi archiepiscopi Moguntinensis[1939]		Probably Gernot, chaplain and notary of Arnold and canon and scholar of St Stephan's abbey, Mainz	c. 1160, no later than 1162	Possibly St Stephan's abbey, Mainz	Arnold of Mainz (r. 1153-1160)
Vita S. Willibrordi[1940]		Thiofrid, abbot of Echternach	1103 x 1104	Echternach monastery	Willibrord, bishop of Utrecht (d. 739)
Vita Burchardi Posterior[1941]		Ekkehard of Aura	1108 x 1113		Burchard of Würzburg (r. 741-754)
Vita beati Hartmanni Episcopi Brixiensis		Author unidentified[1942]	c. 1200		Hartmann of Brixen (r. 1140-1164)
Vita Theogeri abbatis S. Georgii et episcopi Mettensis[1943]	Abbot Erbo of Prüfening	Unknown (earlier attribution of Wolfger, monk of Prüfening now largely rejected)	1138 x 1146		Theoger of Metz (r. 1118-1120)
Gesta episcoporum Tullensium (Toul)		Likely member of cathedral chapter	After 1107 (beginning of twelfth century)	Cathedral chapter, Toul	First century - 1107

[1939] *Vita Arnoldi archiepiscopi Moguntinensis. Die Lebensbeschreibung des Mainzer Erzbischofs Arnold von Selenhofen*: *Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, ed. Stefan Burkhardt (Regensburg, 2014), 11-13.
[1940] https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_04430.html accessed 28/08/2018.
[1941] https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_02074.html accessed 28/08/2018.
[1942] *Vita beati Hartmanni Episcopi Brixiensis (1140-64)* ed, Anselm Sparber (Innsbruck, 1940), 23-34.
[1943] https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_04669.html accessed 28/08/2018.

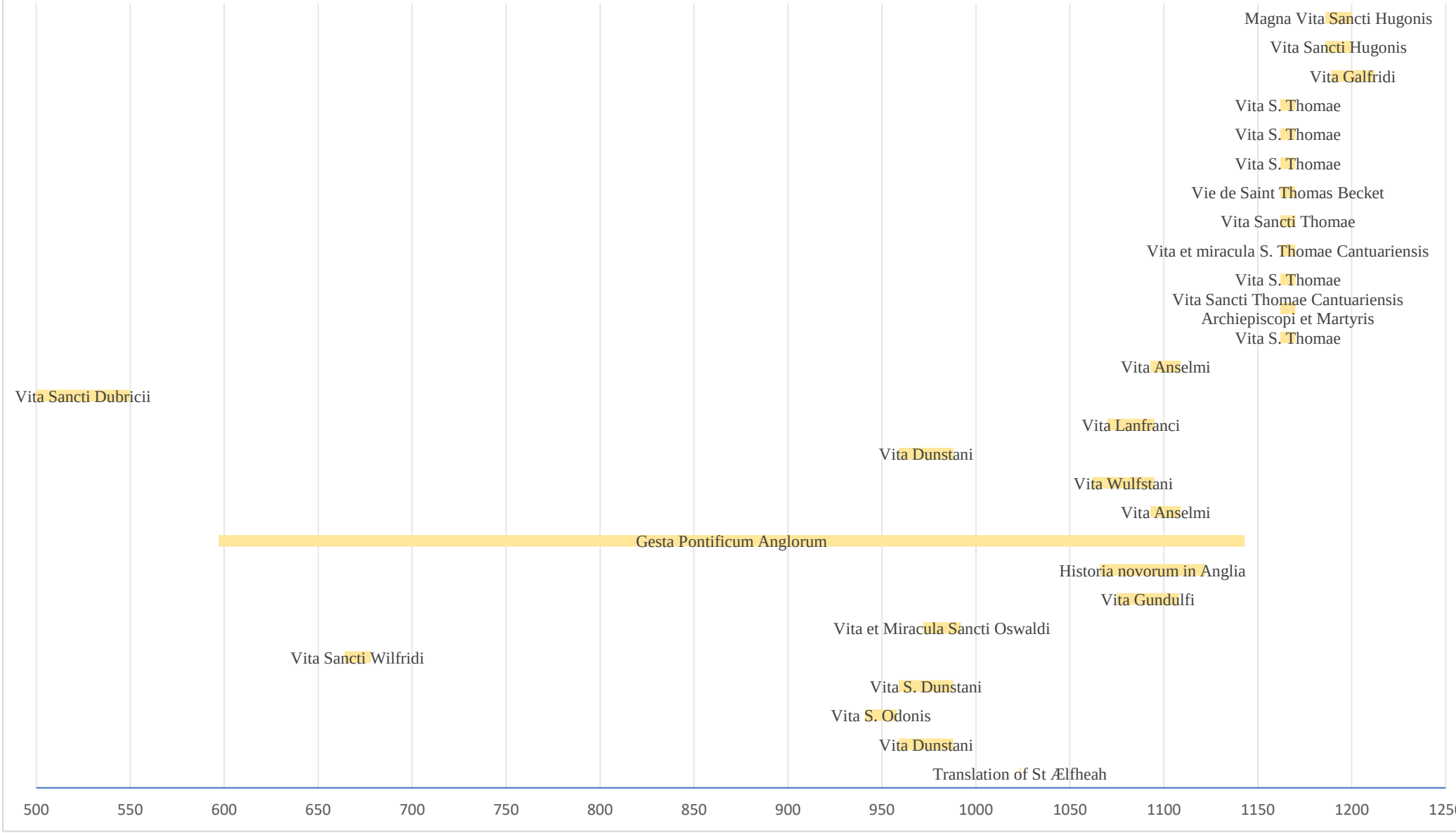
Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium (Cambrai)[1944]	Commissioned by bishop Gerard I of Cambrai (r. 1012-51) around 1023/1024	Canon of Cambrai cathedral	First two books no later than 1025 Later portions added c. 1025-1030 and early 1050s	Cathedral chapter, Cambrai	Late Roman period to 1024
Gesta episcoporum Mettensium (Metz)		Cleric at Metz	1132 x 1142	Cathedral chapter, Metz	First century to the pontificate of Bishop Stephen (r. 1120-1162)
Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium (Magdeburg)		Possibly Arnold, abbot of Berge monastery, Magdeburg (also author of *Annalisto Saxo* and *Annales Nienburgensis*) (authorship by a cathedral canon has been ruled out)	c. 1142	Possibly Berge monastery, Magdeburg	968-1142
Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium (Halberstadt)		Halberstadt cathedral canon	c. 1209 (building on precursors from 992, 1050, 1113, 1152/1157)	Halberstadt cathedral chapter	780-1208
Chronicon Hildesheimense (Hildesheim)		Likely Hildesheim cathedral canon	c. 1079	Hildesheim cathedral chapter	Ninth century to 1079
Chronica episcoporum Merseburgensium (Merseburg)		Member of cathedral chapter	c. 1136	Merseburg cathedral chapter	Foundation by Caesar - 1136

[1944] *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai: Translation and Commentary*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach, David S. Bachrach, and Michael Leese (New York, 2018), 8-12.

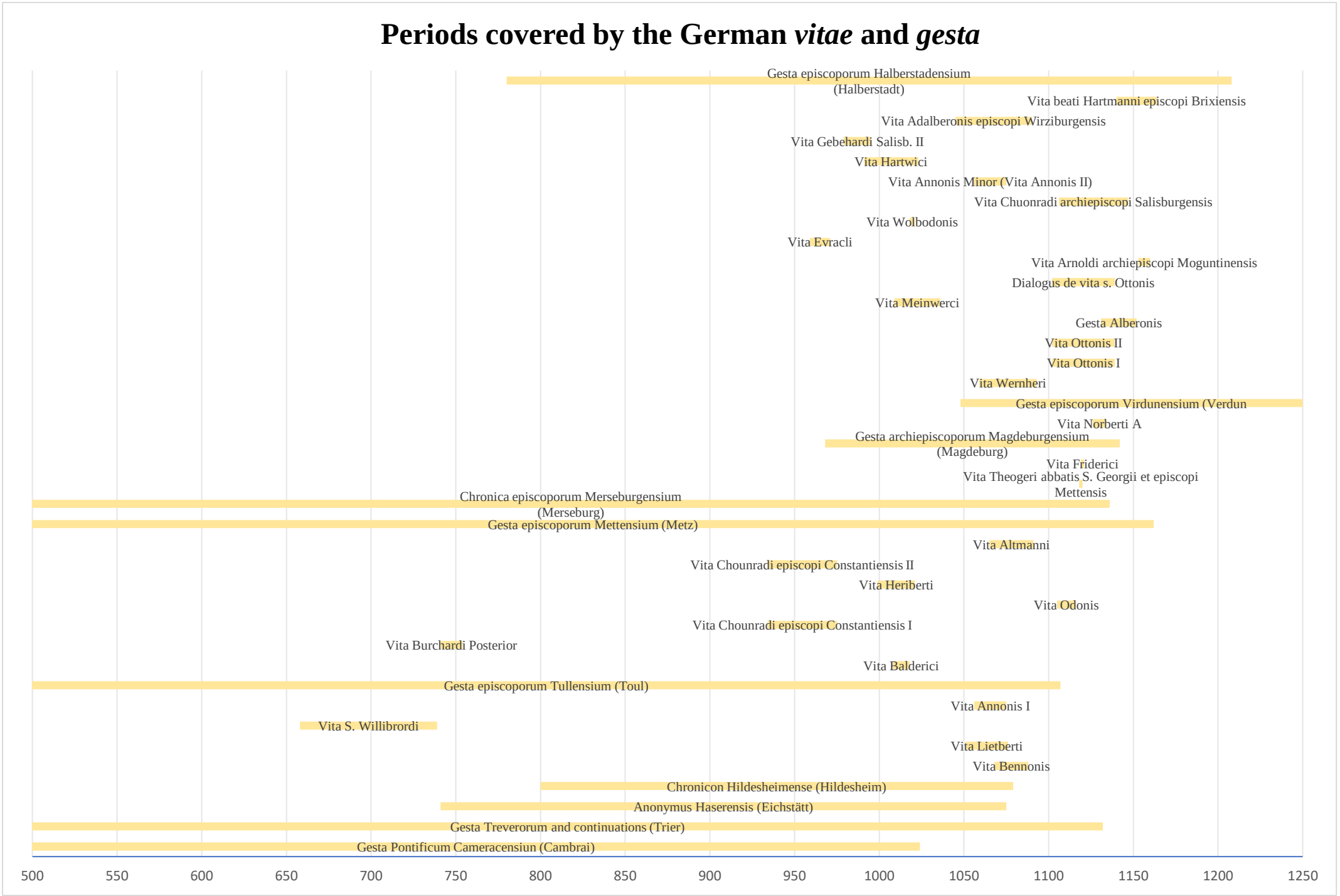
Anonymus Haserensis (Eichstätt)		Cathedral canon of Eichstätt, possibly chaplain or provost	c. 1078	Eichstätt cathedral chapter	741 – 1075
Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium (Verdun)[1945]	Bishop Adalbero III of Verdun (r. 1131-1156)	Initially, Lawrence, monk of St Lawrence, Liège monastery, after 1142/1143 monk in monastery of St Vanne, Verdun.	The work is divided into three redactions. The one is examined here was written no later than 1147.	Monastery of St Lawrence, Liège. Later continued at St Vanne, Verdun	1048-1250
Gesta Treverorum and continuations (Trier)		Likely cathedral canon at Trier	First version, not preserved, written c. 1072/1079 by anonymous monk of monastery of St Eucharius, Trier Continuation written until c. 1132	Trier cathedral chapter (surviving version)	Ancient past - 1132

[1945] https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_03200.html accessed 28/08/2018.

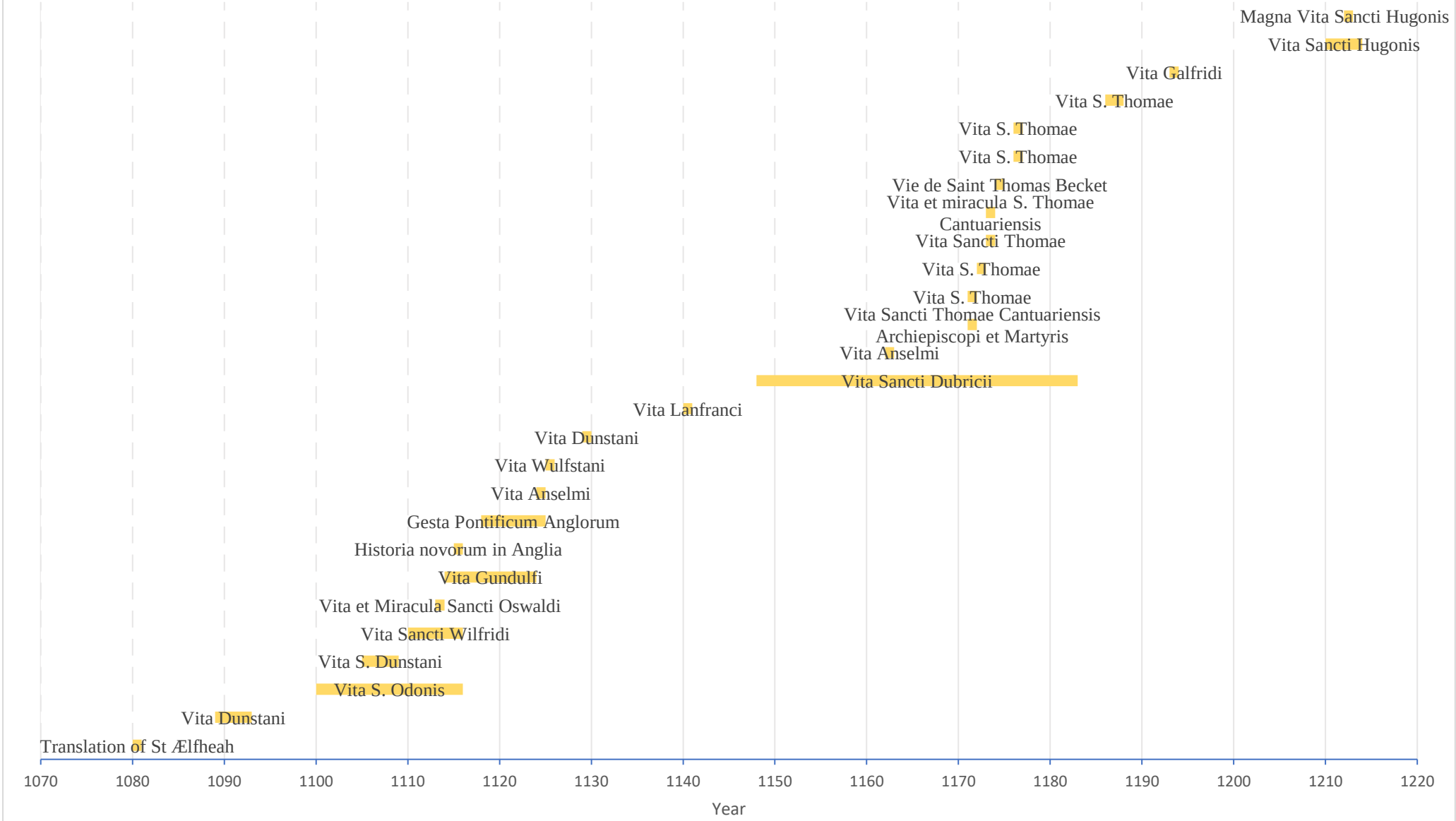
Appendix 3
Periods covered by the English *vitae*

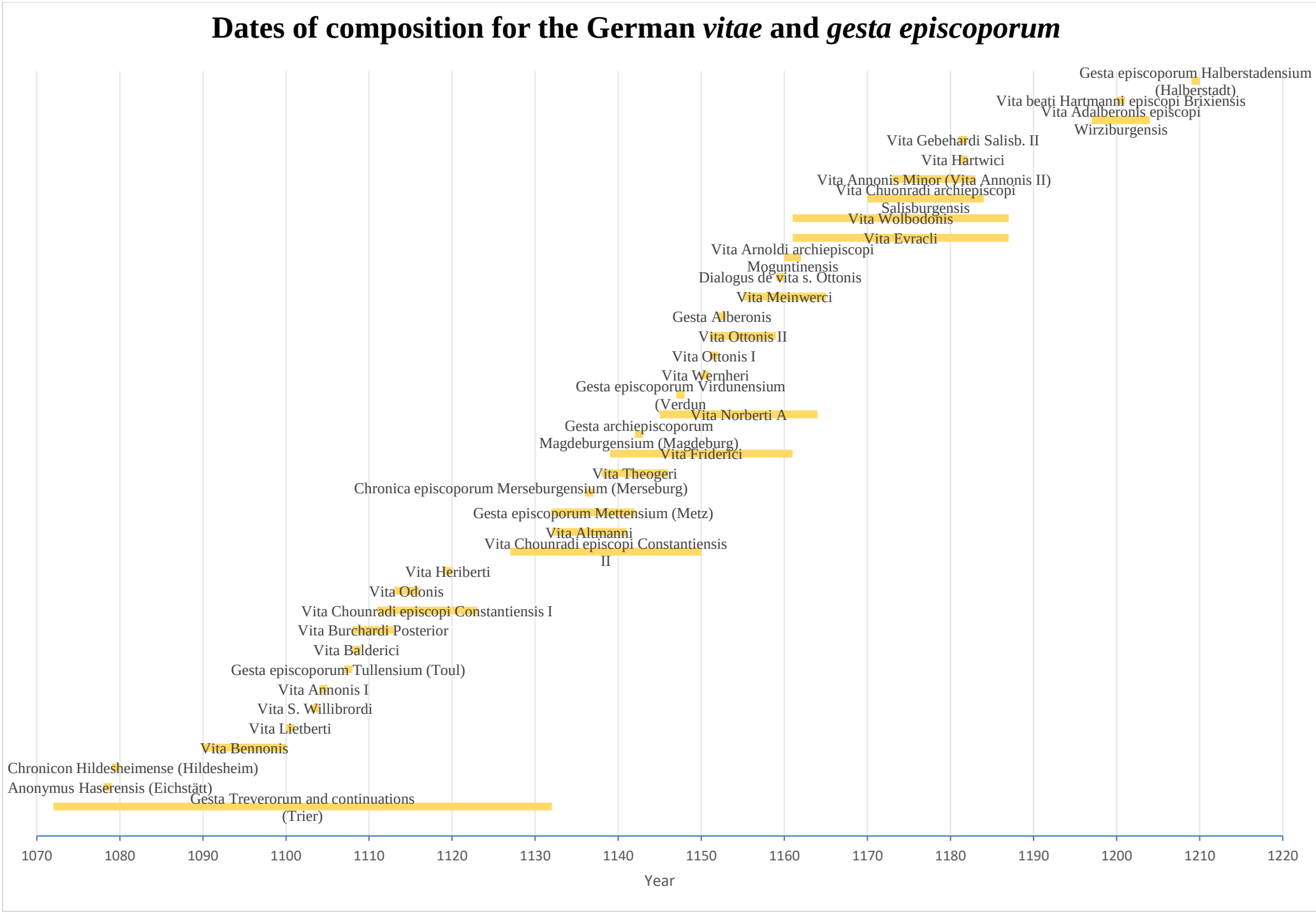


Periods covered by the German *vitae* and *gesta*



Appendix 4
Dates of composition for the English *vitae*




Dates of composition for the German *vitae* and *gesta episcoporum*
Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium (Halberstadt)
Vita beati Hartmanni episcopi Brixiensis
Vita Adalberonis episcopi Wirziburgensis
Vita Gebehardi Salisb. II
Vita Hartwici
Vita Annonis Minor (Vita Annonis II)
Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis
Vita Wolbodonis
Vita Evracli
Vita Arnoldi archiepiscopi Moguntinensis
Dialogus de vita s. Ottonis
Vita Meinwerci
Gesta Alberonis
Vita Ottonis II
Vita Ottonis I
Vita Wernheri
Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium (Verdun
Vita Norberti A
Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium (Magdeburg)
Vita Friderici
Vita Theogeri
Chronica episcoporum Merseburgensium (Merseburg)
Gesta episcoporum Mettensium (Metz)
Vita Altmanni
Vita Chounradi episcopi Constantiensis II
Vita Heriberti
Vita Odonis
Vita Chounradi episcopi Constantiensis I
Vita Burchardi Posterior
Vita Balderici
Gesta episcoporum Tullensium (Toul)
Vita Annonis I
Vita S. Willibrordi
Vita Lietberti
Vita Bennonis
Chronicon Hildesheimense (Hildesheim)
Anonymus Haserensis (Eichstätt)
Gesta Treverorum and continuations (Trier)
1070
1080
1090
1100
1110
1120
1130
1140
1150
1160
1170
1180
1190
1200
1210
1220
Year